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THE CHĀLUKYA KULA

(being a study of THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI)

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE Ph. D. DEGREE OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

By

MISS KUMUD CHITALIA

ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE BOMBAY-1. 1964

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Plate I.

FRONTISPIECE

Bādāmi Cliff Inscription of Pulakeśin I.

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P R E F A C E.

The extant works on the Chālukyas of Bādāmi in English and Kanarese form only a part of larger historical compilations. Their very nature imposes restrictions on the treatment of the subject. Moreover, in recent years a good number of inscriptions of the Bādāmi Chālukyas and those of the other contemporary ruling families who had connection with them have been brought to light. It was, therefore, thought opportune that a full-length account of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and their times be attempted.

The reconstruction of the history of the Chālukyas essentially rests on inscriptions, their own as well as those of their feudatories like the Gurjaras and the Sendrakas, to mention only a few. However, no account of the Chālukyas could be complete without simultaneous study of the epigraphs of the contemporary dynasties with whom they came into contact. It is only against the background of the information furnished by the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhī and the

Pallavas of Kāñchī which goes to corroborate the information supplied by their own records that one is able to get an idea of the extent and the nature of Chālukya achievement in the north and in the south.

The same method of comparative study is followed in relating the cultural history of the Chālukya period. With a view to appreciate and assess their contributions in the realm of Indian Art, monuments at Bādāmi, Paṭṭadakal, Aihoḷe, Mahākūṭeśvara, Kāñchī, Ajantā, Ellorā, Aurangabad, Kanheri and Elephanta were visited and studied in situ. In order to trace the development of the Brāhmī alphabet of this period a study of Palaeography was undertaken.

In organizing the available material an attempt has been made to present a complete and systematic study of the history of the Bādāmi house of the Chālukyas and care has been taken to avoid conclusions not warranted by facts.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to Dr. D. C. Sircar, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, Dr. P. B. Desai, Dr. G. S. Gai,

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Kumud Chitalia

(Kumud Chitalia.)

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MAP.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S.

AI	Ancient India.
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
APGAS	Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series.
ARIE	Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy.
ARSIE.	Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.
ASI	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
ASMAR	Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report.
ASWI	Archaeological survey of Western India.
BDCRI	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.
BG	Bombay Gazetteer.
BISMQ	Bharat Itihasa Samsodhana Mandal Quarterly.
BMCC	Bulletin of the Madras Christian College.
BV	Bhāratiya Vidyā.
CA	The Classical Age.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
CSI	Coins of Southern India.
DKD	Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.
EC	Epigraphia Carnatica.
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
EHD	Early History of the Dekkan. (R.G. Bhandarkar)

EHOD	The Early History of the Deccan (Ed. by G. Yazdani).
HAS	Hyderabad Archaeological Series.
HIED	History of India as told by its own Historians (Elliot and Dowson).
HIG	The Historical Inscriptions from Gujarat.
IA	Indian Antiquary.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Ind. Arch.	Indian Archaeology - A Review.
Ind. Cul.	Indian Culture.
JAHC	Journal of Andhra History and Culture.
JAHRS	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JASOB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
JBORS	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JBRS	Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
JDL	Journal of the Department of Letters.
JGV	Journal of the University of Gauhati.
JIH	Journal of Indian History.
JISOA	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

JRAS	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
Jr. Asiatique	Journal Asiatique.
KHR	Journal of the Karnātaka Historical Research Society.
KI	Karnātaka Inscriptions.
LK	Lalit Kalā.
MASI	Memorirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
NI	Nellore Inscriptions.
NIA	New Indian Antiquary.
PDHC	Proceedings of the Deccan History Conference.
PIHC	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
POC	Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference.
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
SII	South Indian Inscriptions.
SIS	Sino-Indian Studies.
SMHD	Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan.
TP	Toung Pao.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschesn Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

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PART I

HISTORY

CHAPTER I.

THE CHĀLUKYA KULA.

The emergence of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi on the political horizon marks a definite step in the history of Deccan. It is fortunate for the dynasty that it was vouchsafed a succession of great military leaders among its rulers - a circumstance which was responsible for the elevation of the family to the imperial status. With their capital at Vātāpi[1], present Bādāmi in the Bijapur district, the Chālukyas lorded over the Deccan for little more than two centuries, from the first quarter of the sixth till the middle of the eighth century of the Christain era.

The dynastic name appears in various forms like Chalikya[2], Chalkya[3], Chalukya[4] and occasionally Chālukya[5], sometimes with ḷ for l.[6] In the Lohaner grant of Pulakeśin II[7] it assumes the form of Chulukiki, but the intended reading may have been Chalukika.[8] Mr. Rice read the name as Chaulukya while editing the Vakkalēri grant of Kīrtivarman II,[9] but a careful perusal of the lithograph shows that the reading should be Chalukya.[10] Dr. Fleet adopted the form ' Chalukya ' on

the ground that the name Chālukya with a long vowel in the first syllable was adopted by Taila II, when he restored the dynasty and was continued by his successors.[11] He was also of the opinion that the name under the latter form did not occur in any of the genuine early inscriptions.'[12] But this argument of Dr. Fleet no longer holds water, for in the recently published Tummeyanūru[13] grant of Pulakeśin II we possess a definite evidence of the use of the form Chālukya, with a long vowel in the first syllable. This is also the case with the Rāshṭrakūṭa grants such as the Rādhanpur plates of Govinda III.[14] This leads us to the conclusion that the name was used in both the forms during the period of the Bādāmi Chālukyas.[15]

It is not unlikely that the name was derived from words like Chaika, Chalika, Chalkya or Chaluka.[16] These names were not uncommon in the Deccan. For one of the Prākṛit inscriptionsfrom the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, ascribed to the third century A. D. mentions a certain Khaṁdachalikiremmaṇaka meaning Remmaṇaka the son of Khaṁda (Skanda in Sanskrit) Chaliki.[17]

The origin of the dynasty, however, is shrouded in obscurity, a phenomenon not uncommon in

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the early history of the Deccan.

During the tenth and the eleventh centuries when all the dynasties of South India strove to establish supernatural origin of their families, we find a large number of legends growing up in connection with the origin of the Chālukyas.

In the last quarter of the tenth century, Ranna, the court-poet of Tailapa II (A. D. 973) belonging to the later Chālukya house of Kalyāṇī, in his poem entitled Gadāyuddha[18] mentions a certain Satyāśraya described as ' the lord of Ayodhyāpura ' and refers to Jayasiṁha alias Vishṇuvardhana, probably a descendant of the latter, as the conqueror of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and founder of the Chālukya monarchy in Deccan. This legend appears in a more developed form in the Kauthem grant[19] (A. D. 1009) of Vikramāditya V belonging to the same family, which tells us that fifty-nine kings of the Chālukya lineage reigned at Ayodhyā, and after them sixteen more over Dakshiṇāpatha, and then there was a temporary obscuration of their power. After the lapse of a few generations, Jayasiṁhavallabha overthrew five hundred kings, defeated Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra, the son of Kṛishṇa, restored the fallen fortunes of the family and established his supremacy over the Deccan. This

supposed achievement of Jayasiṁhavallabha against the Rāshṭrakūṭas would be critically examined in its proper place, when we speak about Jayasiṁha I, the progenitor of the Vātāpi-Chālukyas.

Returning to the legendry accounts regarding the origin of the family we have a lithic record [20] (A. D. 1019) at Balagāṁve in Mysore, belonging to the time of Jayasiṁha II of the Kalyāṇī house of the Chālukyas, which states that fifty-nine kings having ruled at Ayodhyā, there was born in their family Satyāśraya after whom the family came to be known as that of Satyāśraya. Yet another inscription [21] of the same family dated A. D. 1058 says that Svayambhuva-Manu was the mind-born son of the God Brahman, his son was Mānavya from whom came all those who belonged to the Mānavya-gotra. Mānavya's son was Hārita to whom was born Pañchaśikhi-Hārita and the son of the latter was Chālukya, from whom sprang the race of the Chālukyas. In some of the inscriptions [22] of Vikramāditya VI the origin was traced to the eye of Atri, the son of Brahman, through the Moon.

But Bilhaṇa, the court-poet of the later Chālukya king Vikramāditya on the otherhand, in his enthusiasm to glorify the family of his patron and to give a supernatural colour to the dynastic name

Chālukya prefers the story of origin of the Chālukyas from the ' Chuluka,' the cupped palm, of Brahmā.[23] His account runs as follows:

'Brahmā (the creator) was once engaged in his Samdhyā devotions when Indra came to him complaining about the godlessness on the earth and begged him to put an end to it by creating a hero, who could be a terror to the evil-doers. On hearing this request the Creator directed his looks towards his ' Chuluka ' (the cupped palm) and from it sprang a warrior fit to protect the three worlds. From him descended the Chālukyas, a race of heroes, among whom Hārita is described as the first progenitor, and one of whom was Mānavya who humbled the kings of the earth. The original seat of the Chālukyas was Ayodhyā. Some of them desiring victory extended their conquests to the region of the betal palms in the South.'[24]

The Handrike inscription[25] of Vikramāditya VI combines the fanciful story of popular etymology of the family name narrated by Bilhana in his Vikramāṅkadevacharita (A. D. 1085) with the legends occurring in the abovementioned inscriptions of the family and introduces a certain Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya in the Chālukya genealogy; then followed the rule of fifty-nine kings commencing with

Satyāśraya, lord of Ayodhyā; when Jayasiṁha became king and he was succeeded by sixteen others.

This myth of the origin from the cupped palm of Brahmā seems to have been current in later days, as it occurs in the Chālukya inscriptions of A. D. 1018[26] and A. D. 1050[27] both belonging to the members of the Lāṭa house, but with the following addition that when the hero asked the Creator what he should do, he was told not to fight but to marry a Rāshṭrakūṭa princess in Kānyakubja and raise the progeny through her to create an extensive race of warriors.

The Raṇastipūṇḍi grant[28] (A. D. 1011) of Vimalāditya of the Veṅgī Chālukyas, while it gives a lunar origin to the family, relates quite a different story about the origin of the Chālukyas. The inscription includes Brahmā, the Moon, and the fifty-nine emperors of Ayodhyā, with Udayana among them in the pedigree, then it says that Vijayāditya a member of the family went on an expedition to the South, and lost his life in a battle with Trilochana Pallava. His widowed queen gave birth to a posthumous son whom she called Vishṇuvardhana in honour of the Brāhmaṇa Vishṇubhaṭṭa Somayājin of Muḍivemu[29] with whom she had found refuge in her distress. When he grew up, Vishṇuvardhana worshipped Gaurī, the goddess of the

Chālukya-hill, and by her grace regained the royal insignia of his line and established its rule in the entire seven-and-a-half-lakh country of the Dakshiṇāpatha, extending from Narmadā river in the north to Rāmeśvaram in the south. Vishṇuvardhana's son was Vijayāditya II, and Pulakeśin I was the son of this latter.[30]

Prof. B. V. Krishnarao is of the opinion[31] that Vijayāditya II and his father Vishṇuvardhana appearing as a father and grandfather of Pulakeśin I in the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant may represent Raṇarāga and Jayasiṁha mentioned as father and grandfather of Pulakeśin I, in the Mahākūṭa record of Maṅgaleśa[32] and the Aihole praśasti[33] of Pulakeśin II. True, the names Vishṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya appear in the genealogy of the Vātāpi-Chālukyas, but we have not a scrap of evidence either in their own epigraphs or in the early inscriptions of the Veṅgī-Chālukyas to suppose that Raṇarāga and Jayasiṁha were also known as Vijayāditya and Vishṇuvardhana respectively.

It may be noted in passing that the Prithvī Rāja Rāsu, a medieval ballad, attributes Agnikula origin to the Chālukyas along with the Chāhamāṇas, Paramāras and Parihāras.[34] The authenticity of this ballad, however, has been rightly questioned

by Kaviraja Syamal Das[35] and Mr. R. R. Haldar[36] who regard it as a myth ' all but worthless for the purpose of the Historian.'[37]

These legends are late in origin and cannot be traced to a date earlier than the tenth century. Though they have certain features in common, they differ from one another on matters of vital importance -- a circumstance which clearly shows that although the belief in the northern origin of their family was commonly held both by the Chālukyas of Veṅgī and Kalyāṇī in the eleventh century, they had no knowledge of their early history, which had been entirely lost. It is worthy of note that during the ninth, tenth and the eleventh centuries of the Christian Era, it became the fashion among the great families of Dakshiṇāpatha to connect themselves with dynasties celebrated in the Purāṇas.[38] This style first came into vogue among the Pallavas of Kāñchī, who in the eighth century claimed to have descended from the God Brahmā.[39] They were followed by the Rāshṭrakūṭas whose claim connecting their family with Yādavas of the Lunar dynasty first appears in A. D. 871.[40] The Western Gaṅgas probably connected themselves with a mythological dynasty about the middle of the tenth century.[41] During the same period Mayuraśarman of the Kadamba dynasty was

first apotheosized[42] and the claim regarding their origin from the solar line through Muchakunda was put forward by the Cholas.[43] The Hoyasālas[44] for the first time in the eleventh century traced their descent from the Yādavas, while the Puranic genealogy of the Eastern Gangas connecting them with the lunar dynasty through Turvasu made its appearance in the first quarter of the twelfth century.[45]

It is curious but true that the Pandits of the tenth and eleventh centuries who prepared these genealogies had an inadequate knowledge of ancient Sanskrit literature. On the one hand they claim lunar origin for the Chālukyas,[46] while on the other they describe them as having ruled at Ayodhyā.[47] It may be pointed out that the lunar dynasty of classical literature ruled from Hastināpura and not from Ayodhyā.[48]

Scholars have expressed widely different views about the origin of the Bādāmi Chālukyas. Pandit Somasekhar Sarma is of the opinion that the original home of the Chālukyas was in the Ceded districts.[49] But a critical examination of the arguments on which the scholar built up his case at once renders the suggestion unacceptable.[50] The first point made by Pandit Sarma that ' most of the inscriptions of Bādāmi Chālukyas

have been discovered in the Ceded districts ' is not entirely correct. In actual fact the epigraphs of the Chālukyas are fairly scattered all over their dominions, and a good number come from the Karṇāṭaka region[51] and not from the Ceded districts. True, findspots of inscriptions do help in fixing a family to a particular locality. But in that case the provenance of its early documents should be taken into account, and it is significant that all the known records of Pulakeśin I and his two sons Kīrtivarman I and Maṅgaleśa, who were the three early Chālukya rulers come from and around Bādāmi.[52]

His next argument is that ' many of the villages mentioned in these grants (discovered in the Ceded districts) are identified with those situated in the Ceded districts.'[53] But this would indicate only the extention of the Chālukya authority over that region and not their origin from that region.

Pandit Sarma's third argument[54] is that the early Telugu terms like vadlu, uñchamanna, maruñcha - marumañṇ̃a occurring in the inscriptions of Vikramāditya I and his brothers and sons is a conclusive proof of the Telugu origin of the Chālukyas. It may be noted in this connection that the early Telugu words begin to appear in their inscriptions only from the time of the

sons of Pulakeśin II, when the Telugu districts already formed a part of the Chālukya empire,[55] while on the other hand the traces of archaic Kannadā and not Telugu are found in the earliest records of the family. For instance in the Goḍachi grant[56] of A. D. 578 we come across the Kanarese name Katti - arasa, borne by Kīrtivarman I, and the word toṭṭam appearing in the expression sa-toṭṭam in the same epigraph is glaringly Kanarese and was used apparently in place of its Sanskrit equivalent taṭāka. Finally, Maṅgaleśa's small inscription outside the third cave at Bādāmi[57] is the first Chālukya record worded entirely in Kannada.

The fourth point,[58] which is merely an extention of the third is that ' some of the stone inscriptions of both Vikramāditya and Vijayāditya are in Telugu language. (And) they are some of the very early Telugu inscriptions extent.' This argument also won't wash. It only indicates that these rulers motivated by a desire that local people, who probably did not know Sanskrit, should follow the details of their charters, had them inscribed in the local languages.

The fifth argument[59] advanced by Pandit Sarma is that in the legendary account occuring in the aforementioned Ranastipūṇḍi grant[60] of Vimalāditya of the Eastern Chālukyas which is repeated in the Naṇḍamapūṇḍi

grant of Rājarāja[61] of the same house, the birth-place of Vishnuvardhana, the reputed founder of the Chālukya greatness - the posthumous son of Vijayāditya, the supposed progenitor of the Chālukyas - is said to be the village of Mudivemu. This place is identified with the village of Peddamudiyam[62] in the Jammalamadugu taluka of the Cuddapah district - a circumstance from which Pandit Sarma concludes that the Chālukyas originally hailed from the Ceded districts.[63] However, since the authentic genealogies[64] occurring in the epigraphs of the early Chālukyas do not trace the origin of the family either from the one or the other, we can give little credence to the evidence of the later records.

In the final argument,[65] Pandit Sarma seeks to support his contention with the evidence supplied by a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription, ascribed to the third century of the Christian era.[66] This inscription records[67] the erection of a stone pillar by ' the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, the Mahātalavara, Vāsithiputa Khaṁdachalikireṁmaṇaka (of the family of) Hiraṁṇakas (mahāsenapatisa - mahātalavarasa vāsithiputasa Hiraṁṇakaṇam, Khaṁdachalikireṁmaṇaka(sa)) .. .. .. in the sixth year of (the reign of) king Śrī Virapurisadata.' Mr. Sarma thinks that the word

Chaliki of the epigraph is merely a variant of the word Chālukya, and translates Khaṁdachalikiremmaṇaka as the Chālukya Khaṁda Remmaṇaka, the last two words constituting the name of an officer under the Ikshavākus.[68] He next surmises that the people of Chaliki sect of the Hiraṁṇaka clan may be said to have been living about Śrīparvata and holding high positions even during the regime of the Ikshavākus.[69]

In the absence of any historical evidence it would be gratituous to assume any connection between the Khaṁdachalikiremmaṇaka of this epigraph and the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, separated as they were by an interval of about three centuries. Moreover, the evidence of this very inscription which states that Khaṁdachalikiremmaṇaka was a Vāsithiputa[70] knocks the bottom of Pandit Sarma's argument for the reason that the Chālukyas of Bādāmi describe themselves not as Vāsithiputas but as Hāritiputas.[71]

Similar arguments are put forward by Dr. B. V. Krishna Rao,[72] another protagonist of the Andhra origin of the Chālukyas, with the difference that, unlike Pandit Sarma, he believes the word Chaliki of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription to be a personal name of the feudatory of the Ikshavāku ruler, from which personal name the later family name Chalukya was

derived.[73] Dr. B. V. Krishna Rao further mentions that the name of the house - Hiraṁnakas or Hiraṇyakas - to which Chaliki, the eponymous ancestor of the Chālukyas, belonged was derived from the name of the region over which the members of this house must have ruled, which he proposes to call Hiraṇyaka or Hiraṇya rāshṭra, the Renāṇḍu 7000 of later times, now represented by the major portion of the districts of Cuddapah and Karnul.

It is possible to agree with Dr. Krishna Rao in connecting the Hiraṁnaka family of Khaṁdachalikiremmaṇaka with the region of Hiraṇyarāshṭra. But his conclusion that the Chālukyas originally hailed from the Andhra Pradesh[74] and were in the service of the Ikshavākus, cannot be accepted as it presumes the descent of the Chālukyas from Chaliki of the inscription on too slender a ground, viz., phonetic similarity between the two words. Moreover, there is not even a shred of evidence in favour of the contention that this family which was known as the Hiraṁnaka ever changed its name to Chālukya.

Sri Ramesan[75] adduces yet another reason in favour of the Andhra origin of the Chālukya dynasty, maintaining that the mention in the Tummeyanūru grant of Pulakeśin II of a territorial division named Chālukya-vishaya - which may have comprised according

to this scholar parts of the present Rayalasima, Karnul and Mahaboobnagar districts[76] -- would point to the fact that it was the original home of the Chālukyas. It must, however, be remarked that though the designation of a territorial division after the name of a particular family does suggest that an area so named must have been for sometime in its possession, it does not necessarily indicate the original home of that family. For all we know it may have been some other branch of the Chālukyas that ruled over this region, and on this tract being annexed by a superior power, it was reduced to the rank of a subdivision and was designated Chālukya - vishaya on account of its earlier Chālukya connection.

Dr. Bagachi[77] on the other hand would seek to connect the Chālukyas with the Sogdians. He argues that, as shown by Pargiter[78] among the peoples mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas the names Śūlika and Chūlika are most frequent, and what is more, both names (Śūlika-Chūlika) appear as variants of the same name and both are located in the same region, north or the north-west, speaking Chūlikā - Paiśāchikā Prākṛit[79]; while M. Gauthiot[80] has established the identity of these people (Śūlikas) with Sogdians. Piecing together the findings of these two scholars Dr. Bagachi[81]

draws the inference that these people known as Śūlika - Chulika were Sogdians and that Chūlikā-Paiśāchikā Prākṛit was the dialect that they spoke. Dr. Bagachi then seeks to establish the connection of these people with the Chālukyas of Bādāmi through the later Chālukyas of Aṇahilawāḍa, who were commonly known as Solaki or Solaṅki, concluding that since the Śūlika - Chūlika were Sogdians the Chālukyas were also of the same stock.[82]

There are, however, several difficulties against the acceptance of Dr. Bagachi's theory. To begin with, the word Śūlika cannot have any connection with Solaki or Solaṅki, which is a corruption of the word Chālukya or Chaulukya and not the other way about.[83] This form (Solaki or Solaṅki) does not occur earlier than the second half of the tenth century when it comes into vogue exclusively in connection with the Aṇahilawāḍa house,[84] who are styled Chaulukyas by Hemachandra,[85] the renowned grammarian who flourished at the court of Kumārapāla, one of their kings, in his Dvyāśraya Kāvya and Kumārapāla Charita.

Nor is it possible to connect the Chālukyas who were Vedic Hindus of the highly cultivated Kshatriya caste with the Chūlikas who as the evidence of Indian literature down to the sixth century shows were

uncultured. Thus, the Mārkandeya Purāṇa[86] says that the Chūlikas are a branch of the Kirāṭas while the Vāyu[87] and Matsya Purāṇas[88] group them among the Mlechchhas. In the Brihatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira, who flourished in the sixth century, they are not only described as jackal-eaters and classed with the Śūdras and the Mlechchhas, living on top of the mountains, but are also grouped with the very worst of mankind.[89] It is just not possible that these people became so cultured all of a sudden as to be recognised as Kshatriyas and performed not only the Aśvamedha[90] but other Vedic sacrifices[91] such as Agnichayana,[92] Agnishṭoma[93] and Vājapeya. It must also be borne in mind that the description of these people by Varāhamihira is in striking contrast with the description of Pulakeśin I, almost his contemporary,[95] who in his inscription of A. D. 543 prides himself in having performed the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices in accordance with the Śāstric injunction (श्रौतविधानतः). The high status of the Chālukyas is also attested by Hiuen-Tsang.[96]

Furthermore, M. Lacote[97] who in his Essai sur Guṇādhya gives a fairly detailed account about the Chūlikā - Paiśāchi has observed[98] that this language was not spoken by gentlemen. If this be so, how could the Chālukyas who were men of culture have Chūlikā

Paiśāchi as their language?

There is, however, no need to labour the point further, as the Śūlikas in connection with their appearance in the Harāha inscription of Maukhāri[99] Iśānavarman, dated A. D. 554, are identified beyond any doubt with the Śūlkis of Orissa by R. D. Banerjee[100] H. C. Ray Chaudhari[101] and D. C. Sircar.[102]

Yet another attempt to prove their foreign origin is made out by scholars like Jackson,[103] Campbell,[104] D. R. Bhandarkar[105] and Hoernle[106] who attribute a Gurjara extraction to the Chālukyas. The strongest objection to this theory is the fact mentioned in the Aihoḷe prasasti[107] of A. D. 634 that Pulakeśin II compelled the Gurjaras to surrender, thus distinguishing the Chālukyas from the latter. Again, the lāñchhanas of the two houses are different. For while some symbol of Sun-worship appears on the seals of the Gurjara grants[108] issued in the seventh and the eighth centuries of the Christian era, it is the boar (the Varāhalāñchhana)[109] which appears on the seals of the Chālukyas. One of the arguments put forward by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in favour of the Gurjara extraction of the Chālukyas was that the region which was known as Lāṭa came to be known as Gujarāt (Gujaraṭṭa)[110] after the Chālukya advent into that region. Dr. Ganguly who opposed the theory

of Gurjara origin of the Chālukyas rightly contends[111] that ' it is true that the territory known as Sārasvatamaṇḍala has assumed the name Gurjara since the eleventh century ..... It is significant that as soon as Sārasvatamaṇḍala assumed the name Gurjara, the ancient Gujarata in Eastern Rājaputana gradually became less known as such, and was divided into small territories under various names such as Medapata, Sapādalaksha etc. This suggests that a large number of Gurjara population migrated from the Eastern Rajaputana in the tenth and eleventh centuries to Sārasvatamaṇḍala, to which they gave a name after their own.'

Quite contemporaneously with the Chālukya rule in Gujarat, another Chālukya family, to which Barapa and his successors belonged, governed the country of Lāṭa independent of foreign control.[112] And yet Lāṭa retained its name till the 13th century. Now, if the Sārasvatamaṇḍala changed its name into Gujarāt due to the establishment of the Chālukyas there, how is it that Lāṭa did not follow the same course? Similarly, the Deccan, Andhra and Kalinga had Chālukya settlements and they are not known to have undergone a change of name having any reference to Gurjara.

Then again other scholars have sought to give foreign origin to the Chālukyas for no substantial reasons. Thus for example, Mr. Rice seeks to identify the Chālukyas with Seleukia[113] and Mr. Mankad thinks that they were descendants of Seleucos Nikator.[114] These suggestions, however, though ingeneous, are unacceptable for they are based only on phonetic similarity and utterly lack historical evidence.

In fact the paucity of historical material prevents us from coming to any definite conclusion about the origin and the cradle of the Chālukyas, we only know that the region round Bādāmi, in the heart of Karṇāṭaka where their early inscriptions are found,[115] was the scene of their early political activities. But significantly enough, Karṇāṭaka does not appear among the countries conquered by the Chālukyas, while the army of the Chālukyas is actually referred to as Karṇāṭakabalam i.e. the army of Karṇāṭaka in an inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[116] Then again Kīrtivarman I and his son Pulakeśin II appear under the Kanarese appellations of Katti-arasa[117] and Ereyya[118] while Pulakeśin II's daughter Amberā is said to have been so styled in the sva-bhāshā,' i.e. ' own language.'[119] Mr. Rice has suggested that ' Amberā ' is an early Kanarese word[120] - a suggestion which for all we know may be

correct, as the word does not appear to be Sanskrit. If this be acceptable, it would follow that the designation ' sva-bhāshā ' refers to Kanarese, which would thus become the language spoken by the Chālukyas. Fleet has suggested[121] that Jayasiṁha and Raṇarāga, the two rulers mentioned in the authentic genealogies of the Mahākūṭa[122] and Aihole[123] inscriptions, may have held some military or executive office under the kings of Banavāsi - a position which may have paved the way to the step by which Pulakeśin I acquired Bādāmi and established his independence. This suggestion gains in significance when it is remembered that the Chālukyas bodily lifted totidem verbis the preamble appearing in the earlier records of the Kadambas:[124]

> ' Svasti (1) Svāmi Mahāsena - Mātṛigan - anudhyāt - abhishiktānām Mānavya sagotrāṇām Hāriti - putraṇām Chālukyānām '[125]
>
> Hail ! The Chālukyas, who meditate on the assemblage of the mothers of the lord Mahāsena, who are of the kindered of Mānavya; who are the descendants of Hāriti and who are sprinkled with the coronation water.'

Finally, the numismatic evidence lends yet another support to the suggestion of Fleet. In his Coins of Southern India, Elliot has shown that the Chālukyas literally imitated the Padmaṭaṅkas, struck

by the Kadambas of Banavāsi save for the difference that they replace the earlier lotus symbol in the centre of a coin by the impression of a Boar, their family emblem.[126]

It may be noted in this connection that, as Dr. R. Shamaśastri[127] has shown, the descendants of Hārita according to the Vishnu Purāṇa were Brāhmaṇas, following the profession of the Kshatriyas. Accordingly the Chālukyas may also have been Brāhmaṇas following the profession of Kshatriyas on account of their descent from Hārita. Be that as it may, Hiuen-Tsang actually describes them as Kshatriyas.[128]

From the expression Brahma Chālukya-vaṁśaku(la)dipaka, occurring in a Sanskrit manuscript entitled Sadharma Chintāmani (probably of the eleventh century) probably in connection with Bhimasena of the Gujarāt Chālukyas, Sri Ranajit sing has inferred that the Chālukyas were actually Brāhmaṇas by caste.[129] This inference, however, is not warranted, because the phrase, while making it possible to trace the descent of the Chālukyas from Brahmā would not justify their being ranked as Brāhmaṇas.

Equally unacceptable is the contention of Mr. C. V. Vaidya that not only the Chālukyas but also the Kadambas, the Pallavas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas were

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all Marāthi-speaking Āryan Kshatriya families. For the fusion of the two races, Āryan and Drāvidian, had gone on imperceptibly since long and had reached such a stage during the period of the Chālukya supremacy as to make the two races almost indistinguishable.

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(6) Fleet, ' Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of the Chalukya king Maṅgaleśa,'
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(7) Khare, ' Lohaner Plates of Chālukya Pulikeśin II: Śaka 552,'
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(8) Sircar, ' The Chālukyas,' CA, p. 227

(9) Rice, ' The Chālukyas and Pallavas,'
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(11) Fleet, DKD, p. 336, n. 3.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Supra, n. 5.

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(15) Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar accepted the form Chālukya with long vowel ' ā ' in the first syllable and remarked that the best way to determine whether the first syllable was ' cha ' or ' chā ' is to refer to verses containing the name, the metre of which would show unmistakably the number of syllables a foot would necessarily carry. Referring to the versified Rādhanpur plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda III, Dr. Bhandarkar opined that the form Chālukya with a long vowel ā in the first syllable belonged also to the Vātāpi-Chālukyas. (Bhandarkar, EHD, p. 180, n.1.)

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(36) Halder, R.R., ' Some Reflections on Ṛithvīrāja Rāsā,'
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(49) Sarma, Somasekhara, ' The Māyalūr Plates of Vinayāditya,' JOR, vol. X, pp. 27 - 46.

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(51) Infra, p.

(52) The Bādāmi cliff inscription of Pulakeśin I, inscribed in S.S. 465 (Supra, n.2); the Bādāmi cave inscription of Kīrtivarman I, recorded in Śaka 500 (Supra, n.3) and the short inscription of Maṅgaleśa (IA, vol. X, p. 59) outside the third cave at Bādāmi, are all at Bādāmi. The Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgaleśa (Supra, n. 6) was found in the enclosure of the Mahākūṭeśvara temple, situated at a distance of about three miles from Bādāmi. Finally, the Godachi and Nerūr plates respectively issued by Kīrtivarman I (EI, vol.XXVIII, pp. 59 - 62) and Maṅgaleśa (IA, vol.VII, pp. 161 ff.) were discovered

at Godachi, a village in the Torgal taluka of the Kolhapur district and Nerūr in the Sawantwadi.

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(68) Supra, n. 49.

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(86) The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Ch. 57, v. 40.

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(116) Fleet, ' Rāshṭrakūṭa Grant of Dantidurga: S.675,' IA, vol. XI, pp. 108-115.

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CHAPTER II.

JAYASIṂHA and RAṆARĀGA.

The earliest authentic names in the genealogy of the Vātāpi-Chālukyas are those of Jayasiṁha and his son Raṇarāga, appearing in the two family records, the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription[1] of Maṅgalesa and the Aihole praśasti[2] of Pulakeśin II. The latter epigraph would have us believe that Jayasiṁha had been preceded by ' many members of that race, bent on conquest, (to) whom the title of Prithivīvallabha, " Favourite of the earth," had at last become appropriate.'[3] However, this description of their ancestors being merely conventional, not much value can be attached to it unaccompanied as it is by adequate details.

The Mahākūṭa inscription of his great-grandson Maṅgalesa styles Jayasiṁha as Vallabhendra, ' the chief of favourites ' and compares him with Maghavan or Indra, possessed of virtuous qualities; and with Kubera, the god of wealth, in point of affluence,[4] while the Aihole inscription of the time of Pulakeśin II attributes to him a simpler epithet of Vallabha, ' favourite ' and describes him as the one who by his bravery made fortune his own, even though she is suspected of fickleness.[5]

Such a conventional description cannot provide a foundation on which the super-structure of history could be constructed.

It may here be mentioned that the documents of the later Chālukya house of Kalyāṇī record the tradition that ' Jayasiṁhavallabha born in the Chālukya lineage ~~xxxxxx~~ conquered the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Kṛishṇa, possessed of an army of eight hundred elephants.'[6] While the Daulatabad grant of Jagadekamalla (A. D. 1017) describes Jayasiṁha as ' the destroyer of the Kadambas.'[7]

As for Jayasiṁha's triumph over Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra, we have no reference to it in any of the epigraphs belonging to the Vātāpi Chālukyas, especially in the Aihole praśasti which furnishes an elaborate account of the first century of the Chālukya rule. As Dr. Fleet shrewdly suspects,[8] this achievement of Jayasiṁha is based upon an analogy of the events which occured at the time when the Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereignty was passing into the hands of the later Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī.

Again, had Jayasiṁha really triumphed against five hundred kings as the Yevūr grant[9] would have us believe, the achievement could have scarcely gone unnoticed by the composers of the records of his

immediate successors, who as seen above, give him mere conventional praise.

Nor can we agree with the description of Jayasiṁha as ' the destroyer of the Kadambas,' appearing in the Daulatabad grant of Jagadekamalla (A.D. 1017)[10]. For Jayasiṁha's grandson Pulakeśin I, as would be seen in the following chapter, could best be assigned to about A. D. 530 to 566[11], and hence, the former must have lived during the last quarter of the fifth century, when the Kadamba kingdom was ably ruled by Ravivarman (c.A. D. 479 - 519)[12], one of the most capable of the sovereigns of that house.

The suggestion, that Jayasiṁha held a subordinate position under the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura, based on the proposed identification of the latter with a certain Jayasiṁha[13], described as the commander of Harivatsakoṭṭa in the undated Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu[14] belonging to the latter Rāshṭrakūṭa family, is far from being certain. For one thing, the name of the family to which Jayasiṁha, the commander Harivatsakoṭṭa belonged is not given in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā charter. For another, the chronology of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura is still in the process of construction and the genealogical order of succession is not yet settled.

The Uṇḍikavāṭikā charter is assigned to the first half of the sixth century on grounds of palaeography and hence Abhimanyu, who issued this charter, could only be a contemporary of Chālukya Jayasiṁha's son or grandson, Raṇarāga (c.A. D. 505 - 530) or Pulakeśin I (c.A. D. 530 - 566) respectively. Further, inspite of the above mentioned difficulties if we accept the identification of Chālukya Jayasiṁha with the Jayasiṁha appearing in Abhimanyu's inscription, we are faced with an assumption that the sphere of the Rāshṭrakūṭa influence had extended upto the confines of the Kadamba kingdom including Bādāmi, where the Chālukyas made their appearance. This is not likely as the contemporary Kadamba king Ravivarman (c.A. D. 479 - 519) was a capable military leader and could have scarcely allowed a rival power to flourish within a distance of less than fifty miles from his secondary capital Halsi, from where he is known to have made donations recorded in his copper-plate inscription.[16] Again, the Birūr plates of Kadamba Vishnuvarman,[17] for whose death Ravivarman was responsible,[18] inform us that the Sindhuthaya-rāshṭra which may be identified with the Sindagi taluka in the Bijapur district and the Karṇṇesakā river, probably the present river Krishna, were included in the Kadamba territory. It is obvious from the forgoing discussions that Jayasiṁha of the

Uṇḍikavāṭikā charter cannot be the same as the progenitor of the Chālukya family.

Equally unacceptable is Dr. Jayasawal's suggestion that Jayasiṁha assumed independence on the decline of the Vākāṭakas, under whom according to this scholar, he must have held an administrative post.[19] For it may be recalled that no political achievement is ascribed to Jayasiṁha in the Mahākūṭa and Aihole inscriptions, and it is not unlikely that his name appears in these records only because the Śāstric injunctions required the mention in a charter of the names of the three generations of the donee as well as of the donor.[20]

Jayasiṁha's name is succeeded by that of his son Raṇarāga in the above mentioned two Chālukya inscriptions.[21] The Mahākūṭa inscription[22] describes him as the one ' who by (his) fondness for war, elicited the affection of his own people and caused vexation of mind to (his) enemies,' while the Aihole praśasti[23] hails him as ' the one-master of the world, whose super human nature (even) when he was asleep, people knew from the pre-eminence of his form.' The Yevūr record belonging to the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī states that he delighted in worshiping the auspicious feet of Hara (Śiva)[24]. Such laudatory descriptions unaccompanied

by adequate details afford but little assistance in the reconstruction of history, and should be dismissed as merely conventional.

N O T E S.

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(1) Fleet, ' The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of the Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa,' IA, vol. XIX, pp. 7- 20.

(2) Fleet, ' Aihole Inscription on Megutī temple of Pulekeśi II: Ś. 556,' IA, vol. V, pp. 67 ff.; IA, vol. VIII, pp. 237 ff.;

Kielhorn, ' Aihole Inscription of Pulikeśin II: Śaka-Saṁvat 556,' EI, vol. VI, pp. 1 - 12.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Supra, n. 1.

(5) Supra, n. 2.

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(6) Fleet, ' Kauthem Plates of Vikramāditya V, Śaka-Saṁvat 930,' IA, vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff.

(7) Bhandarkar, D. R., and

Dikshit, K. N., ' The Daulatabad Plates of Jagadekamalla, A. D. 1017,' HAS, No.2.

(8) Fleet, DKD, pp. 342 and 343.

(9) Fleet, ' Yewūr Inscription of Vikramāditya VI,' IA, vol. VIII, pp. 10 - 21.

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(10) Supra, n. 7.

(11) Infra, p. 43.

(12) Infra, Ch. III, ns. 43 and 67.

(13) Dubreuil, Jouveau, Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 111.

(14) Hultzsch, ' Undikavātikā grant of Abhimanyu,' EI, vol. VIII, pp. 163 - 66.

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(15) Ibid.

(16) Fleet, ' Kadamba Grant of Ravivarman,' IA, vol. VI, pp. 29 - 30.;
Moraes, op.cit., pp. 47 - 49.

(17) EC, vol. VI, Kd. 162.

(18) Moraes, op.cit., p. 47, n. 1.

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(19) Jayaswal, History of India, pp. 106 - 107.

(20) Sivaramamurti, Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts, pp. 26 - 28.

(21) Supra, ns. 1, 2.

(22) Supra, n. 1.

(23) Supra, n. 2.

(24) Supra, n. 9.

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CHAPTER III

PULAKEŚIN I.

Pulakeśin I, the third king of the Bādāmi Chālukyas was ' the dear or favourite son ' of Raṇarāga.[1]

The Bādāmi Cliff inscription[2] of Ś. S. 465 or A. D. 543, his only genuine record,[3] credits him with the performance of a horse sacrifice. Evidently this supreme distinction could have been achieved only after years of struggle. If this struggle lasted for ten years he could have come to the throne about A.D. 530. The earliest known date of his son and successor Kīrtivarman is Ś. S. 489- 490 or A.D. 566- 67.[4] This gives Pulakeśin a fairly long reign of about thirty-six years.

Pulakeśin appears to have been the first independent ruler of the Bādāmi house of the Chālukyas. That he possessed sovereign powers is indicated by the title of Mahārāja being attached to his name in all the formal charters of the family.[5] In all the Chālukya copper plate grants he is mentioned with great respect and with the exception of the Mahākūṭa

pillar inscription[6] of his son Mangaleśa and the Aihole prasasti[7] of his grandson Pulakeśin II, the genealogical account in all most all the Chālukya epigraphs begin with his name. Even his remote descendants, the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī expressed their admiration for him and never failed to accord him the pride of place in the genealogical accounts of their formal charters.[8]

His name occurs in various forms; Polekeśin,[9] Polikeśin,[10] Pulikeśin,[11] and Pulakeśin[12] meaning ' a great lion.'[13] He had the birudas of Satyāśraya[14] ' the asylum of truth,' and Raṇavikrama,[15] 'the valourous in war.' In his own inscription he appears as Vallabheśvara.[16] Besides, he is also given the epithets Vallabha,[17] Śrīvallabha[18] and Śrīprithivīvallabha.[19]

It is significant that he also bore the title of Dharma-mahārāja.[20] This title with its variants as Dharmarāja,[21] Dharma-mahārāja[22] and Dharma-mahārājādhirāja[23] was borne by many rulers of the Dakshiṇāpatha, the early Pallava, the Western Ganga, the Kadambas, the Bhojas, and the Vākāṭakas. The title occurs in the form of Dhamma-mahārājādhirāja in the case of the early Pallava king Śivaskandavarman in his Prākrit Hirehadagalli plates.[24] The early Western Ganga king

Satyavākya Koṅgaṇivarman in addition to the title of Dharma-mahārājādhirāja,[25] also assumed the title of Dharma-Mahādhirāja.[26] In his Agra plates, the Bhoja king Kāpālavarman styles himself Dharma-mahārāja.[27] Some of the rulers of the Bāsim branch of the Vākāṭaka family called themselves Dharmarāja.[28] The Kadambas were probably the last rulers to use this title which is found even in the records of the last rulers of the house, viz., Harivarman[29] and Kṛishṇavarman II.[30] The Godachi plates of Kīrtivarman I is the first and the only record so far discovered wherein a Western Chālukya king is given this epithet. It is possible that the title may have found its way into the Chālukya list of appellations when the Chālukyas who had succeeded the Kadambas in the sovereignty of Karṇāṭaka, adopted in their inscriptions a large portion of the Kadamba praśasti[31] which was concise.

About the significance of the title, however, there is no agreement among the scholars. According to Sri Krishnamacharlu it was evolved out of the title Dharma-Mahāmātra of the Aśokan inscriptions.[32] This explanation is unacceptable for the reason that the Dharma-Mahāmātra being a

designation of a subordinate official in Maurya administration, it is unlikely that kings would have appointed it for themselves. Dr. Ghosal on the other hand is inclined to think that the title implies Brāhmanical leaning on the part of the ruler.[33] This explanation which again does not carry conviction, as the title was not current among the rulers of the dynasties, who were responsible for the revival of Brāhmanism, such as the Sungas[34] and the Guptas.[35]

Literally the title would mean ' a great king by or in respect of Dharma,[36] ' that is to say a king who had made righteousness, his rule of conduct.

We have in the Mahābhārata king Yuddisthira, who answers to this description and who on this account was known by the title of Dharmarāja.[37] It follows, therefore, that those of the kings, who inspired by this ideal, made righteousness the rule of their conduct assumed the title of Dharma-mahārāja.

The only recorded historical fact in connection with Pulakesin is the construction of an impregnable fortress, at Vātāpi, the present

Bādāmi.[38] It is quite likely that it was on this very occasion that his Cliff inscription was inscribed. Thus to Pulakeśin goes the credit of making Bādāmi, which was till then only known as a sacred place,[39] a stronghold of political power.

An incursion into the internal history of the Deccan here becomes necessary for a better understanding of the circumstances which made it possible for Pulakeśin I to acquire Bādāmi and the surrounding territory.

At the time we are speaking about the country south of the river Bhīmā appears to have belonged to the Kadambas, whose territory embraced an extensive area. The Kadamba empire, which comprised the whole of Kuntala,[40] was at this time split up into three parts, which were ruled over by three collateral branches of the family, with their capitals at Banavāsi, Triparvata and Uchchangi.[41] It may be gathered from the Birūr plates,[42] of the Kadamba king Vishṇuvarman, the grandfather of Kṛishṇavarman II of the Triparvata branch, that the Sindhuthayarāshṭra, perhaps modern Sindagi taluka, in the Bijapur district and the Karṇṇesakā river, probably the river Kṛishṇā, were included

in the territory ruled over by this branch of the Kadambas. In about A. D. 479, Ravivarman of the Banavāsi branch killed Vishnuvarman and ascended the throne.[43] It is possible that the civil war between the two collateral branches of ' the Kadamba kula' afforded an opportunity, which Harishena (A. D. 475 - 500)[44] of the Vākāṭaka family. used for the purpose of his own aggrandisement. In the Ajantā inscription[45] he claims to have made extensive conquests and spread his influence in Kuntala, Avanti (West Malwa), Kaliṅga (territories of the Kalingādhipatis of Srikakulam - Vizagapattam region), Kośala (Raipur - Bilaspur region), Trikūṭa (Traikūṭaka territories in the Nasik district), Lāṭa (Navasari -Broach region), Āndhra (districts about the mouth of Kṛishṇā) and other countries whose names cannot be deciphered. He did not conquer the whole of the Kuntala, but it seems beyond doubt that he was able to annex the northern part thereof comprising the present Satara-Sholapur region.

It is not improbable that Harisheṇa appointed Mānāṅka of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family as his governor over this newly acquired region, with

Mānapur, present Man in the Satara district, as his headquarters. In the Pāṇḍaraṅgapaḷḷi plates[46] of his grandson Avidheya dated A. D. 516, Mānāṅka is described as the ruler of Kuntala. Such a description of Mānāṅka could be only treated as a boastful exaggeration on the part of the composer of the charter. It is hardly possible that Harishena, who was his contemporary[47] and who, as we have already seen, claims to have made extensive conquests, should have tolerated an independent Rāshṭrakūṭa family in the Satara-Sholapur region which was at such a short distance from the boundaries of his own kingdom.

With the decline of the Vākāṭakas in the last years[48] of the fifth century, one of the successors of Mānāṅka, probably the latter's grandson Avidheya assumed independence. And thus it was that in his Pāṇḍaraṅgapaḷḷi plates[49], above referred to, Avidheya could make a grant in his own regnal year without making any reference to his Vākāṭaka overlords. He was probably succeeded by his nephew Abhimanyu, who issued the undated Uṇḍikavāṭikā plates[50]. It would appear that Abhimanyu was the last ruler of the dynasty, as no other member of this family is known to have succeeded him.

The place of the Rāshtrakūtas in this region seems to have been filled by the Vishnukundis, a family which held sway in Andhra Pradesh. The basis of this conjecture is a set of copper-plates found at Khānāpur in the Satara district which purport to have been issued by one Mādhavavarman.[51] The plates are undated, but have been placed on palaeographical ground in the early years of the sixth century.[52] Mādhavavarman must therefore have ruled sometime during the first quarter of the sixth century. Again, Mādhavavarman styles himself Mahārāja as well as Sārvabhauma[53] and claims to have performed a number of sacrifices such as Paundarika, Bahusuvarna and eleven other sacrifices[54] which were so expensive[55] that they could have been performed only by a sovereign of consequence. Now, the only ruler who flourished during this period that answers to this description is Mādhavavarman I of the Vishnukundin family who has been approximately assigned to the first half of the sixth century.[56] It is claimed on behalf of this ruler that he performed the self-same sacrifices and even the greatest of them all, the Aśvamedha.[57] We have a significant piece of information about this Mādhavavarman that he had married a Vākāṭaka princess.[58] She may have been a daughter or some

near relative of the Vākāṭaka king Harishena himself who, as we have already seen, ruled from A. D. 475 - 500 and was, therefore, old enough to be his father-in-law.[59] If this be true what could have been more likely than that Mādhavavarman sought to bring refractory feudatories to book, a circumstance which would explain his presence in the Satara district in which Mānapura, the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital, was situated.[60] The Khānāpura plates[61] above referred to register a grant by Mādhavavarman of the village of Reṭṭuraka, which was bounded on the south west by a village named Mallakheṭaka which have been located in the Karhad taluka of the Satara district.

Mādhavavarman I was succeeded by his son Vikramendravarman, born of the Vākāṭaka princess, who had a brief reign of about five years.[62] After Vikramendravarman's death, the succession seems to have been disputed between the latter's son Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman and Mādhavavarman II, a grandson of Mādhavavarman I, by his son Devavarman, possibly through another marriage. The Chikkullā plates[63] seem to allude to this civil war when the writer of the inscription describes Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman

as one ' who by the act of contracting his eyebrows scattered all claimants.' But the war does not seem to have ended in complete victory of Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, as this record would have us believe. At best it was a pyrrhic victory and as a result the Vishṇukuṇḍin kingdom was divided between the two cousins, Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman retaining the original Vishṇukuṇḍin territory, while the new acquisitions in the Western Deccan went to Mādhavavarman II. It is thus that we find the latter styled in the Ipūr plates[64] as ' Trikūṭa-Malay-Ādhipati,' ● lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya, i.e. the region between the Trikūṭa hill near Nasik and the southern portion of the Western Ghats.[65]

It is curious that the political power in the Southern Deccan found itself in the same strikened condition as its northern contemporaries. It was unfortunate that the bitter lesson of the civil war between Vishṇuvarman and Ravivarman referred to above[66] was lost on the Kadamba family which lorded it over this part of the country. When on the death of Ravivarman, sometime in A. D. 519, Harivarman, his son, succeeded to the throne of Banavāsi,[67] the latter's cousin Kṛishṇavarman II tried to wrest the power for

his branch of the family,[68] which as we have already seen,had its headquarters at the Triparvata.[69] The memory of the death of the latter's grandfather Vishnuvarman at the hands of Ravivarman,[70] the father of Harivarman,rankled in the minds of the representatives of the Triparvata branch and Krishnavarman II, the present head of the family,tried to avail himself of the weakness of Harivarman to make a bid for the throne of Vaijayantī.[71] The Bennūr plates of Krishnavarman II record a gift when the latter started on ' an expedition against Vaijayantī.'

Harivarman could not remain a passive spectator when the safety of his very capital was thus threatened by the hostile forces of his cousin Krishnavarman II. He would appear to have sought the help of the Bhojas who were the loyal and respected retainers of the Banavāsi Kadambas.[72]

The Kaikeyas, who were closely related to Harivarman,[73] whose grandmother was a Kaikeya princess, must have naturally supported Harivarman's cause. At the time we are speaking of,the Kaikeyas held the Palāśikā-province.[74] They seem to have been placed in charge of the province by Harivarman sometime after A. D. 524,[75] for in the Halsi plates, which were

issued in that year, they are conspicuous by their absence.

The combined forces of the three confiderates, however, were of no avail. Banavāsi fell and Harivarman was either killed or fled from the field. He certainly fled from history as the city passed into the hands of Krishnavarman II, who after his installation at the traditional Kadamba capital issued a charter in his fifteenth regnal year.[76]

Due to the paucity of material it is difficult to ascertain the exact date of the conquest of Banavāsi by Krishnavarman II. In any case, the conquest must have taken place between the seventh and the fifteenth year of his reign, terminus ante quem being fixed by his Benahalli[77] and Kirukuppatūr[78] plates. In the latter plates[79] we find him already in possession of Banavāsi, while in the former[80] there is no allusion whatsoever to this capital. He may, therefore, have conquered Banavāsi sometime between the seventh and the fifteenth year of his reign, in which years the Benahalli[81] and Kirukuppatūr[82] plates were respectively issued. We may date the conquest of Banavāsi in the year A. D. 530.

Krishnavarman II, however, did not succeed in conquering Palāśikā, the second important city in the kingdom of Harivarman, which was in the charge of the Kaikeyas.[83] On the overthrow of the Kadamba house of Banavāsi to which they were related,[84] the Kaikeyas, transferred their allegiance to the Bhojas who also had by now become independent;[85] and it is thus that we find the Kaikeyas in the Kapoli plates[86] appearing as feudatories of the Bhojas. These Kapoli plates register[87] the gift of the village of Vaṁsa-vāṭaka in the Palāśikā-vishaya by the Kaikeya chief Elakella with the approval of the Bhoja king Asaṁkitavarman. The Kapoli plates were issued in the fifth regnal year of Asaṁkitavarman without reference to any era.[88] But on consideration of palaeography of the inscription they have been approximately placed in the sixth century of the Christian era,[89] making them contemporaries with those of Harivarman and Kṛishṇavarman II. It is known for a fact that Palāśikā belonged to the Kadambas till the reign of Harivarman (A.D. 519 - 30).[90] The region could, therefore, have come into the possession of the Bhojas only after A.D.524, in which year Harivarman is known to have made a grant from Palāśikā.[91]

The foregoing discussion clearly shows that all was not well with the once mighty Kadamba kula. Towards the close of the third decade of the sixth century of the Christian era, the Kadamba power was weakened by internecine wars which resulted in the loss of the important province of Palāśikā to the Bhojas. The weakness of the dynasty was availed of by Pulakeśin I, who was apparently holding an important position under the Kadambas,[92] to carve out an independent kingdom around Bādāmi, of which he was possibly a satrap.

Further, Krishṇavarman II was pre-occupied with the consolidation of his power at Banavāsi, which he had but recently annexed and hence could not prevent the secession of Pulakeśin I.[93] The former died in A. D. 542 after a rule of about 22 years and was succeeded by his son Ajavarman.[94] Pulakeśin in the meanwhile steadily waxed powerful so that in A. D. 543 he could dare to perform the great Aśvamedha sacrifice and declare his independence to the world.[95]

Fortune smiled on Pulakeśin in the northern Deccan as well. As we have already seen, in this part of the country a similar civil war between the grandsonsof Mādhavavarman I of

the Vishnukundin family as between the collateral branches of the Kadambas has resulted in the division of the Vishnukundin empire and their consequent[96] military weakness. This was a splendid opportunity for Pulakeśin, the rising Chālukyan chief, to extend the boundaries of his incipient principality which the Vishnukundins had wrested from the Rāshṭrakūṭas, possibly as far as the river Bhīmā. There is a set of copper plates issued by his eldest son Pūgavarman,[97] which registers a donation by the latter, of land in the village of (Mala) Keṭaka. It will be remembered that this village served in the Khānāpur plates of[98] Mādhavavarman to mark the boundaries of the gift village of Reṭṭuraka, though its name in the present grant appears in a slightly altered form of Mallakheṭaka. This village, along with the several hamlets which mark its bountary are all found in the Karhad taluka of the Satara district, not far from the river Bhīmā.[99] This river marked the northern limits of the new kingdom of the Chālukyas while the river Malaprabhā served as its boundary in the south.

To carve out an independent principality was no mean achievement on the part of Pulakeśin. He must have been a man with sterling qualities,

although the family archives give him merely ~~the~~ conventional praise. We are told for instance that he was conversant with the laws of Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa[100], the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas.

It is no wonder that what with the success that attended his arms Pulakeśin performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice, which went to assure him of his position as an independent prince.[101] As a follower of Brāhmanical religion he performed the sacrifices prescribed for an orthadox prince such as Agnishṭoma,[102] Agnichayana,[103] Vājapeya,[104] Bahusuvarṇa[105] and Paundarika.[106] He also made the costly gift of Hiraṇyagarbha, ' the golden egg.'[107] His leaning towards Saivisn is manifested by his donations to the temple of the god Makuṭeśvara.[108]

We know of two of his wives, Durlabhadevī of Baṭpūra family[109] and a Western Gaṅga princess, a daughter of king Durvinīta (A. D. 550 - 600)[110] whose name has not unhappily come down to us. At this time Baṭpūra family seems to have held an important position in the Ratnagiri district,[111] while the Western Gaṅgas ruled over Mysore.[112] These matrimonial alliances doubtless served to strengthen the power of the

rising chief of the Chālukyas.

Pulakeśin I had three sons. Pūgavarman was the eldest and from the description of him as Raṇasthāṭri, i.e. 'firm in battle,' it may be gathered that he assisted his father in the wars which had to be waged for the successful establishment of the Chālukya kingdom.[113] The second son, Kīrtivarman, who succeeded Pulakeśin to the Chālukya throne,[114] as Pūgavarman seems to have died in the lifetime of his father.[115] Maṅgaleśa was the youngest of the three and ruled from Bādāmi after the death of his elder brother Kīrtivarman I.[116]

N O T E S.

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(1) Fleet, ' The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of the Chalukya king Maṅgaleśa', IA, vol. XIX, pp.7-20.

(2) Panchamukhi, ' Bādāmi Inscription of Chalikya Vallabheśvara, Śaka 465,' EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 4-9.;

Digest of Annual Report on Kannada Research in Bombay Province for the year 1940 - 41. pp. 6- 9.

(3) The two sets of copper plates namely the Pimpalner plates (IA, vol. IX, p. 294; Ibid., vol XXX, p. 216.) and the Altem plates(IA, vol. VII, p. 211.; Ibid., vol. XXX, p, 218.) which purport to belong to Pulakesin I are palpable forgeries of the 10th - 11th century on account of the developed alphabet and language employed in them.

(4) Eggeling, ' An Inscription from Bādāmi,' IA, vol. III, pp. 305-06.;

Burgess, ' Rock cut Temples at Bādāmi,' IA. vol. VI, pp. 363-64.;

Fleet, op. cit., pp. 344 - 45; n.7.

(5) Supra, n. 1.;

Desai, ' Mudhol Plates of Pūgavarman,' EI, vol. XXXII, pp. 293-298.;

Sircar, ' Amudālapādu Plates of Vikramāditya I, year, 5,' Ibid, pp. 175 - 184.;

Gai, ' Shiggāon Plates of Chālukya Vijayāditya, Śaka 630,' Ibid, pp. 317 - 324.

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(6) Supra, n. 1.

(7) Fleet, ' Aihole Inscription on Meguti Temple of Pulekeśi II: S. 556,' IA, vol.V, p.67 ff.; Ibid, vol. VIII, p.237 ff.;

Kielhorn, ' Aihole Inscription of Pulikeśin II: Śaka-Saṁvat. 556,' EI, vol. VI, pp. 1-12.

(8) Fleet, ' Kauthem Plates of Vikramāditya V,' IA, vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff.;

'Yewūr Inscription of Vikramāditya VI; S. 999,' IA, vol. VIII, pp. 10 ff.;

'Ālūr Inscription of Vikramāditya VI; S. 1013,' Ibid., pp. 21 ff.

(9) Fleet, DKD, p. 343.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Fleet was inclined to explain Pulakeśin as a half Kannada and a half Sanskrit word and draw the meaning ' tiger-haired,' i.e. perhaps ' having a coat of short, thick and close hair like that of a tiger ' (DKD, p. 343, f. n. 5). On the other hand Prof. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that ' the first half of the name is also Sanskrit and connected with the root 'pul' meaning ' to be great.' This derivation would explain both the forms Pula - and Polakeśin; and as ' Keśin ' means lion the whole compound would have the meaning of ' the great lion '(Sastri, Nilakanta, EHOD, p.207). The latter derivation finds grammatical support in as much as it is an accepted rule that a compound should not be formed of two words belonging to two different languages (Kittel, A Grammar of Kannada Language, p. 214.).

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(14) Supra, n. 1.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Supra, n. 2.

(17) Fleet, ' W. Chālukya Grant of Mangala,'
IA, vol. VII, pp. 161-162.;

' Chālukya Grant of Pulikeśi II,'
IA, vol. VI, pp. 72-75.

(18) Supra, n. 7.

(19) Supra, n. 1.

(20) Desai, ' Godachi Plates of Katti-arasa: Year: 12,'
EI, vol. XXVIII, pp. 59-62.

(21) Dikshit, K.N. ' Sāngoli Plates of Harivarman'
EI, vol. XIV, pp. 163-68.

(22) Annigeri, ' Two Grants of Bhoja Kings,'
EI, vol. XXXI, pp. 233-235.

(23) Bühler, ' A Prākṛit Grant of Pallava king Śivaskandavarman,'
EI,vol. I, p.5.

(24) Ibid.

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(25) Fleet, ' Chikmangalur Inscription of Rāchamalla III,'
EI, vol. VIII, p. 58.

(26) Pathak, K. B., ' Spurious Islāmpur Plates of the Ganga king Vijayāditya: 30th year,'
EI,vol. XII, p. 50. ff.

(27) Supra, n. 22.

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(28) Mirashi, ' Basim Plates of Vindhyaśakti II,' EI, vol. XXVI, pp. 137 ff.

(29) Supra, n. 21.

(30) Panchamukhi, ' Kirukuppatūr Grant of Kadamba Krishnavarman II: Regnal year 15,' Digest of Annual Report on Kannada Research in Bombay Province for the year 1940-41, pp. 3-5.

(31) Supra, n.20.

(32) Krishnamacharlu, C. R, ' Chura Grant of Pallava Vijaya - Vishnugopavarman,' EI, vol. XXIV, pp.140. ff.

Dr. Mirashi also expresses similar opinion (Supra, n. 28, p. 141, n.1.).

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(33) Ghoshal, U.N., ' Political Theory and Administrative Organization, CA, p. 354.

(34) Ray Chaudhari, H. C., Political History of Ancient India, pp. 361 - 397.

(35) Ibid, pp. 527 - 600.

(36) Fleet, ' Śravaṇa-Belgola Epitah of Mārasimha II,' EI, vol. V, p. 163, n.2.

(37) Sorensen, An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata, p. 777.

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(38) Supra, n. 2.

Dharādharendra - Vātāpim = ajeyam = bhutaye$_{\lambda}$(1) bhuvah
adhastād = uparishtāch = cha durggam = etad
= achikarat (2)

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(38).....)

' Made the best hill of Vātāpi (or Vātāpi in the best hill) into a fortress unconquerable from the top as well as from the bottom, for the prosperity of the earth.'

(39) The sacred character of Bādāmi is implied in the description of the place in the Chālukya inscriptions as Vijaya-vātāpy-adhisṭhāna. As Shri Panchamukhi has rightly observed in his introduction to the Karnāṭaka Inscriptions, vol. I, pp. III - V; xxxx the suffix adhishṭhāna applied to the victorious city of Vātāpi (Bādāmi) was primarily intended to convey its celebrity as a sacred place where austerities were performed in fulfilment of vows of Vedic character. That Bādāmi was a seat of Vedic learning from the earliest period is clear from its description as चतुर्दशविद्योपलक्षिता - नेक सहस्रद्विजवरोपशोभिते वाताप्याधिष्ठाने

'the capital city of Vātāpi which is adorned by several thousands of excellent dvijas endowed with the knowledge of fourteen sciences (vidyā)' (Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, pp. 2-4.) as also from the reference to विजयवाताप्याधिष्ठाने - श्रीमहाचातुर्विद्यसमुदयमिस्थासिर

' two thousand members of the Mahāchāturvidya-samudāya,' of this victorious city (Ibid, pp. 8-9.).

After the fall of the Chālukyas when Bādāmi lost its celebrity as a metropolis, it must have reverted to its pristine position of a religious centre, and the writer of the Mahākūṭa Mahātmya sought to invest it with a new halo by making it the scene of the exploits of Agatsya in killing by his mystic powers the demons Vātāpi and Ilvola.

(40) The specific limits of Kuntala are not yet known since the boundaries of ancient

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(40).....)

countries have varied from time to time. But statements in epigraphic records show that Kuntala in ancient times comprised the territories represented by the North Kanara District, parts of Western Mysore, the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar and what we now call the Southern Maratha country. Drs. Fleet, Rice, Altekar, Mirashi, Sircar, Moraes and many other scholars have accepted the inclusion of this region in Kuntala.

cf: Sircar, ' Kuntala and Aśmaka, ' IHQ, vol. XXII, pp. 309 ff.;

Mirashi, ' Identification of Kuntala and Aśmaka Countries,' IHQ, vol. XXIII, pp. 65 ff.; pp. 320 ff.

(41) Moraes, op.cit., Genealogical chart facing p. 15.

(42) EC, vol. VI, Kd., 162.

The plates are considered spurious on account of orthographical errors and a slightly irregular alphabet. But the geographical details and events attributed to Vishnuvarman may be relied upon.

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(43) The year A. D. 519 (Infra, n. 67) which was the first year of Harivarman's reign must have been the last year of the rule of his father and predecessor Ravivarman. The Ajjibad - Sirsi plates (ASWI, 1917-18, pp. 35 ff.) are dated in the thirty-fifth regnal year of Ravivarman. It is not unlikely that he lived a few years more after issuing this charter and we might give 40 years as the possible extent of his reign, which would give A. D. 479 (A. D. 519 -40 = A. D. 479) as the first year of

(Page:48.....
(43).....)

Ravivarman's reign.

cf: Fleet, ' Kadamba Grant of Ravivarma,'
IA, vol. VI, p.30.;

Moraes, op.cit., p. 47, n. 1.

(44) Mirashi, ' Vākāṭaka Inscriptions in Cave XVI at Ajantā,'
HAS, No.XIV, p. 9.

(45) Burgess, ' Ajantā Inscriptions,'
ASWI, vol. IV, pp. 125 -127.

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(46) Krishna, M. H., ' Pāṇḍarangapalli Grant of Avidheya,'
ASMAR, 1929, pp. 197-208.

On account of the mention of the Bhādrapada year according to the Bārhaspatya cycle and other historical synchronisms the Pāṇḍarangapalli plates of Avidheya have been assigned to A. D. 516. At the end of the line 24 of the inscription there are numerical symbols denoting 10 and 5, standing for the numeral 15, which was apparently the regnal year of Avidheya. The numerals escaped the notice of Dr. Krishna who edited the plates in the Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of Mysore for 1929, pp. 197 - 208, and who read the regnal year expressed in words as ' Shodase ' or'sixteen'. In his revised reading of the inscription Dr. Mirashi has correctly read the word as ' panchādase ' or 'fifteen' (Mirashi, 'The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura,' ABORI, vol. XXV, pp. 36 - 50.). Avidheya must have therefore come to the throne in A. D. 501. His father Devarāja is given the usual conventional praise that he was renowned for his simplicity and generousity, which suggests that his reign was politically

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(46).....)

uneventful and was probably of a short duration. We may assign him a reign of five years, i.e. from A. D. 496 to A. D. 501. On the otherhand Mānāṅka, the founder of the family and the father of Devarāja is eulogised for his martial achievements. He may be assigned the usual period of 25 years from A. D. 471 to A. D. 496. This makes him a contemporary of Harishena of the Vākāṭaka family who ruled in the last quarter of the fifth century.

cf: Altekar, ' Was there a Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire in the 6th century A. D?'
ABORI, vol. XXIV, pp. 148 ff.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Supra, n. 44 and Infra, n. 51.

(49) Supra, n. 46.

(50) Hultzsch, ' Uṇḍikavāṭikā Grant of Abhimanyu,'
EI, vol. VIII, pp. 163-166.

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(51) Mirashi and Gupte, ' Khānāpur Plates of Mādhavavarman,'
EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 312-18.

(52) Ibid.

(53) Ibid.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. II, pt. II, p. 979.

(56) Supra, n. 51.;

Mirashi, ' The Rule of the Vishṇukuṇḍins in Mahārāshṭra,'
Studies in Indology
vol. I, pp. 194-198.

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(57) Hultzsch, ' Ipūr Plates of Govindavarman's son Mādhavavarman,'
EI, vol. XVII, pp. 334 ff.

(58) See the expression Vishṇukuṇḍi-Vākāṭa-vaṁśa-dvay-ālamkṛita-janmanah in the description of Mādhavavarman I's son Vikramendravarman in the Chikkullā Plates.

(Kielhorn, ' Chikkullā Plates of Vikramendravarman'
EI, vol, IV, pp. 193-198.

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(59) Supra, ns. 44 and 51.

(60) Mirashi, ' The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura,'
ABORI, vol. XXV, pp. 36-50.;
Sircar, ' Deccan in the Gupta Age
CA, pp. 199-201.

(61) Supra, n. 51.

(62) Sircar, art.et loc.cit., pp. 209 -210.

(63) Kielhorn, art. et loc.cit. Note the expression,

' bhrubhaṅgakara - vinirdhuta - samagra -dāyādasya,' i.e. ' who by the act of contracting his eyebrows scattered all claimants.'

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(64) Hultzsch, ' Ipūr Plates of Mādhavavarman II,'
EI, vol. XVII, pp. 337- 339.

(65) Supra, n. 51.

(66) Supra, p. 48.

(67) The Sāṅgoli plates of Harivarman (Supra, n. 21) refer to the phenomenon of Visuva which occurred in his 8th regnal year. The phenomenon occurred three times in the sixth century, viz., A. D. 507,

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(67) .....)

A. D. 526 and A. D. 545. In the context of events described here, the phenomenon as recorded in the Sāṅgoli plates could have occured only in the year A. D. 526, as A. D. 507 is too early a date and A. D. 545 would be too late. This is confirmed by the date given to Gaṅga Mādhava (A. D. 460 to A. D. 500 - Krishna Rao, M. V., The Gangas of Talkad, pp. 31-32), who married a sister of Kadamba Kṛishṇavarman II. We have no information about Harivarman after his eighth regnal year, which was A. D. 526, the year in which his Sāṅgoli Plates were issued. It would not be too much if we ascribe him a reign of 11 years, i.e. from A. D. 519 to A. D. 530, in which year Kṛishṇavarman II, deprived him of his capital Banavāsi. This conquest may have taken place in the 10th regnal year of Kṛishṇavarman II, since it has to be placed between the 7th and 15th years of his rule (EC, vol. V, Bl. 121.; Supra, n.30) Now, if A. D. 530 was the tenth regnal year of Kṛishṇavarman II, he must have ascended the throne in about A.D.520.

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(68) Moraes, op. cit, pp. 53- 54.

(69) Ibid. Chart facing p. 15.

(70) Supra, n. 43.

(71) EC, vol. V, Bl. 245.
The expression, ' Vaijayantī-vijaya-yātrām abhiprasthitah' was wrongly translated by Rice as ' started on an expedition from Vaijayantī.' The mistake was later on corrected by Sri Panchamukhi (Supra, n. 2.) and the correct translation would be ' started on an expedition against Vaijayantī.'

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(72) A careful study of the Kadamba epigraphs found near Halsi, belonging to the kings• Kākutsthavarman, his grandson Mṛigeśa and the latter's son Ravivarman (Fleet, ' Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. VI, Nos. XX to XXVI.) reveals an important point of historical interest regarding the Bhoja family. The revision of these epigraphs shews that members of the Bhoja family of Śrutakīrti served the Kadamba kings of Banavāsi house for four generations from king Kākutsthavarman to his great-grandson Ravivarman, during the fifth century of the Christian era.

During the reign of the most powerful Kadamba king Kākutsthavarman a family of the Bhojas seem to have accepted the Kadamba supremacy and agreed to serve under them. The statement in Ravivarman's grant (Fleet, art. et loc.cit.) that he had 'won the favour of the mother of Dāmakīrti (Bhoja)' would show that the members of the royal family showed marked respect for the members of this family.

Bhoja Śrutakīrti held the office of commander-in-chief under Kākutsthavarman and received a piece of land in the village Kheṭagrāma, as a reward for saving the life of the king. The epigraph of Ravivarman (A. D. 479-519) gives an impression that subsequently, during the reign of Kākutsthavarman himself, the entire village of Kheṭagrāma was made over to the family of Śrutakīrti.

According to the ' directions of his father (i.e. Kākutsthavarman)' king Śāntivarman and his son Mṛigeśa confirmed the grant of the village Kheṭagrāma - but this time the donee was a mother of Dāmakīrti. However, from the context in the inscription it may safely be inferred that this mother Dāmakīrti was none other than the wife of Śrutakīrti,

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(72).....)

who was the commander-in-chief of Kākutsthavarman's army. Dāmakīrti's son Jayakīrti was a pratihāri, i.e. a Chamberlain to Kadamba Ravivarman.

In the first quarter of the sixth century, when the Kadamba house was torn by the internecine wars between Ravivarman's son Harivarman and the latter's cousin Kṛishṇavarman II, the Bhojas must have sided with the Banavāsi branch represented by Harivarman. But on the successful emergence of Kṛishṇavarman II, they seem to have asserted their independence. And that is how we have the Bhoja kings Aśaṁkita, Kāpālivarman and Aśaṁkitavarman issuing charters in their own names, which are ascribed to the beginning of the sixth century.
(Supra, n. 22,; Desai, ' Hiregutti Plates of Bhoja Aśaṁkita,' EI, vol. XXVIII, pp.70-75).

But the independence of the Bhojas was destined to be short lived. The Mauryas of North Konkan invaded the country of the Bhojas, i.e. South Konkan. They seem to have succeeded in driving out the Bhojas from Goa. The charters of the Maurya kings Chandravarman and Anirjitavarman register grants of land in the Bhoja territory.

cf: Dikshit, M. G., ' Śivapura (Goa) Plates of Chandravarman,'
NIA, vol. IV, pp. 181-184.;

Sircar, ' A note on the Goa Copper-Plate Inscription of king Chandravarman,'
ABORI, vol. XXIII, pp. 510-514.;

Gai, ' Bandora Plates of Maurya Anirjitavarman, year 29,'
EI, vol. XXXII, pp. 293 ff.

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(73) Moraes, op.cit., p. 31.

(74) Supra, n. 22.

(75) Fleet, ' Kadamba Grant of Harivarman,' IA, vol. VI, pp. 32 ff.

We have seen(Supra, n. 67) that Harivarman ascended the Banavasi throne in A. D. 519, and hence , the Halsi grant issued in his fifth regnal year is to be assigned to A. D. 524.

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(76) Supra, n. 30.

(77) EC, vol. V, Bl. 121.

(78) Supra, n. 30.

(79) Ibid.

(80) Supra, n. 77.

(81) Ibid.

(82) Supra, n. 30.

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(83) Supra, n. 22.

(84) Supra, m. 73.

(85) Supra, n. 22.

(86) Ibid.

(87) Ibid.

(88) Ibid.

(89) Ibid.

(90) Supra, n. 67.

(91) Supra, n. 75.

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(92) Supra, p. 21.

(93) Krishnavarman II, who seems to have ascended the throne in about A. D. 620 (Supra, n. 67), at least ruled for 19 years is evident from his Sirsi plates (Sukthankar, ' Two Kadamba Grants from Sirsi,' EI,vol. XVI, pp. 264 - 272 .) which were issued in that year. Assuming that he ruled for a few years more, we may assign him a reign of 22 years, i.e. from A. D. 520 to A. D. 542, when he was succeeded by his own son Ajavarman.

(94) Moraes, op.cit. p.60.

(95) Supra, n. 2.

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(96) Supra, pp. 51- 52.

(97) Desai, ' Mudhol Plates of Pūgavarman,' EI, vol. XXXII, pp.60-62.

Shri Desai suggests the identification of (Mala)keṭaka of this Mudhol plates with the present Malkhed in the Gulbarga district.

I am, however, inclined to identify the village (Mala)keṭaka appearing in this grant with the village Mallakheṭaka mentioned in the Khānāpura plates of Mādhavavarman (Supra, n. 51), which is located in the Karhad taluka of the Satara district.

(98) Supra, n. 51.

(99) Ibid.

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(100) Fleet, ' W. Chalukya Grant of Mangala,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 161-162.

(101) Supra, n. 2.

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(102) Agnishṭoma is one of the seven Soma sacrifices and appears to have been so named for the reason that the last of the Sāmans recited in this sacrifice is addressed to Agni. Agnishṭoma could be performed in Vasanta. Its performance was obligatory to all members of the three higher Varnas. The performance of the Agnishṭoma required the services of 16 priests. According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa no priest should officiate at a Soma sacrifice for a fee less than 1000 cows. Kane, op.cit., pp. 1133 - 1203.

(103) Agnichayana means ' piling of the fire-altar'. The construction of the fire altar is a special rite and is the most complicated and the most recondite of all Śrauta sacrifices. At the root of this rite are certain cosmogenic theories. Most of the acts done in the piling up of an altar are symbolic representations of the process of recreation and reconstruction. Man, himself a child of this process, must also contribute in the reconstruction of the world. This he can do best by regarding Fire as the Highest Divinity and the source of life and activity, and periodical performance of sacrifice in Fire as his contribution towards the process of recreation.

Kane, op.cit., 1246 - 1255.

(104) Vājapeya, a form of Soma sacrifice, was undertaken by one who desired overlordship or prosperity or svarājya. It was to be performed in autumn and only a Brāhmaṇa or a Kshatriya was eligible for its performance. The predominence of number 17 is the characteristic feature of the sacrifice, viz., there are 17 stotras, 17 satras, 17 animals were to be sacrificed to Prajāpati, 17 objects were distributed as fee, the Yupa was 17 artanis in length..... and so on.

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(104).....)

The necleus of the ceremony is the chariot race, which is traced to a legend upon which the Vājapeya sacrifice is based.

Kane, op. cit., pp. 1206 -1211.

(105) From a passage in the Mahābhārata (Aśvamedhika Parva, Adhyaya, 94, v.v.15-17) we come to know that Bahusuvarṇa (also called Bahusuvarṇaka) belonged to a class of sacrifices called Ahina and that it was so named owing to the profuse gifts of gold made during the ceremony. That it was a major sacrifice ranking in importance with Agnishṭoma, Aśvamedha and Rājasuya sacrifices is clear from two passages Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa, I, v.95.; Uttarakāṇḍa, XXV, vv. 8-9) one of these states that during Rāma's peaceful rule hundred Aśvamedha and Bahusuvarṇa sacrifices were performed, while the other relates that Meghanāda performed Agnishṭoma, Aśvamedha, Bahusuvarṇaka, Rājasuya, Gomedha, Vaishna and Maheśvara sacrifices.

(106) Puṇḍarika was a Soma sacrifice lasting for eleven days. A thousand horses were given as dakshiṇā. This sacrifice is mentioned in the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata.

(Kane, op.et. loc.cit, p. 839)

(107) The epithet Hiraṇayagarbha-sambhūta which also occurs in the Mahākūṭa Inscription of Maṅgaleśa (Supra, n. 1.) refers to the celebration of the great gift of Hiraṇyagarbha (golden womb), one of the sixteen mahādānas enumerated in Hemādri's Dānakhaṇḍa, Chapter : 5 and the Matsya Purāṇa chapter 249 while editing the Mattepad plates of

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(107).....)

Dāmodarvarman (EI, vol. XVII, p.328), . Hultzsch was the first scholar to suggest its correct meaning as referring to a Mahādāna and not to the four-faced God Brahmā. A reference may be made to Dr. Sircar's, The successors of the Satavahanas, pp. 50. ff. where relevant details from the Matsya Purāna are given.

(108) Supra, n. 1.

(109) Ibid.

(110) Chitalia, 'Durvinīta and the Restoration of the Chālukyas,'
JASOB, vol. XXXIV - XXXV, pp. 132-138.

(111) Dubreuil, op. cit., p. 112.

(112) Krishna Rao, M. V., op. cit., pp. 1-21.

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(113) Supra, n. 97.

(114) Fleet, DKD, p. 344.

(115) Supra, n. 97.

(116) Fleet, DKD, p. 346.

CHAPTER IV

KĪRTIVARMAN I.

At the death of Pulakeśin I the Chālukyan sceptre passed into the hands of his second son Kīrtivarman I. Only two inscriptions of this king have been found, both showing Ś.S. 500 (A.D. 578) as his twelfth regnal year.[1] The earliest known date of his brother Mangaleśa who succeeded him is Ś.S. 520 - 21 (A. D. 597 - 98).[2] This would indicate that Kīrtivarman ruled for about 31 years, from Ś. S. 489 - 90 to Ś. S. 520 - 21 (A.D. 566 - 67 to A. D. 597 - 98.).

Kīrtivarman I appears under different names in various inscriptions. In the Bādāmi cave inscription[3] of his own time, for instance, he is Kīrtivarman. In his Godachi plates[4] we come across the Kanarese name Katti-arasa[5], meaning ' the sword-king.' In the Nerūr plates[6] of his son Pulakeśin II his name appears as Kīrtiraja; but in the other records of his successors, he is unanimously styled Kīrtivarman, ' he whose armour is his fame.'

The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription[7] gives him

the biruda of Puru-Ranaparākrama, ' Puissant in war as puru,' or ' puissant in many battles.' The Nirpān grant of Nāgavardhana[8] betows[5] another biruda Satyāśraya. Of the formal charters a few attach to his name the epithet of Vallabha; but the majority use the fuller one of Pṛithivīvallabha, ' favourite of the earth:' they all agree in indicating his rank as a paramount sovereign by the use of the title Mahārāja.

Kīrtivarman pursued the policy of territorial expansion inaugurated by his father Pulakeśin I. We are supplied with an eleborate list of conquests won by Kīrtivarman in the Mahākūṭa inscription.[9] The list credits him with the defeat of ' the hostile rulers of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭurā, Magadha, Mādraka, Kerala, Gaṅga, Mūshaka, Pāṇḍya, Drāmila, Choḷiya, Ālūka and Vaijayantī.' Among these places Vaṅga and Aṅga represent east and west Bengal,[10] Kaliṅga - the country on the east coast between the rivers Godāvari and Mahā,[11] Magadha the present Bihar,[12] and Mādraka somewhere in north - west of Punjab.[13] These regions are so far flung that the claim made on behalf of Kīrtivarman by the composer of the record may be forthwith dismissed as a boastful exaggeration of a conventional digvijaya or the conquest of the Chakravartikshetra. The pretentious allocation of victories over the kings of Kerala, the

southern most part of the west coast, Pāndya, the tract forming a triangle at the south of the Indian Peninsula and Drāmila,[14] the territory of the Pallavas on the Coromandel coast with Kāñchi, i.e. Canjeevaram as its capital can also be relagated to the same category, while the decision with regard to Vaṭṭurā may be deferred as its geographical location is still far from certain. Dr. Fleet thinks that it may denote a town like Vaijayantī.[15]

A far more palusible account of Kīrtivarman's campaigns is given in the Aihole prasasti[16] of his son Pulakesin II who could hardly be suspected of having suppressed the achievements of his great father. In this prasasti Kīrtivarman is described as a night of death to the Nalas, Mauryas and the Kadambas, and also as having broken up a confederacy of the Kadamba kings.[17] The information is at once illuminating and significant in that it shows that the extension of the Chālukya kingdom under Kīrtivarman I was effected at the expense of his immediate neighbours on the east, west and south.

Kīrtivarman's contemporary on the Kadamba throne was Ajavarman[18] who had succeeded his father Krishnavarman II, in about A. D. 542, Ajavarman was a weak ruler and it is possible to conclude from the fact that a grant[19] of his son Bhogivarman does not

give him the title Mahārāja that he occupied an inferior position all his life. This was an opportunity for Kīrtivarman to strengthen himself at the expense of the Kadambas. He sought to weaken the latter by weaning the Sendrakas from their allegiance to the Kadamba house. and married a princess of the Sendraka family.[20] In the face of the common enemy, the two rival branches of the Kadamba family sank their differences and joined hands under the leadership of Ajavarman.[21] But the Kadambas could hardly withstand the onslaught of the Chālukya army and in the words of the Karnūl grant[22] of his grandson Adityavarman, Kīrtivarman established ' the banner of his pure fame in the territories of the hostile kings of Vanavāsi and other cities that had been invaded by his prowess.'

The Kadamba power, however, was not completely destroyed, as is evident from the fact that Bhogivarman succeeded[23] to the throne after the death of his father Ajavarman, and was able to hold his own for some time against the Chālukyas.

The conflict with the Kadambas naturally brought Kīrtivarman into contact with the Ālūpas and the Western Gaṅgas whose territories lay respectively in the present South Kanara district[24] and the Mysore State,[25] and therefore adjacent to the Kadamba possessions.

The Mahākūṭa inscription[26] would have us believe that he actually defeated these two powers. Even though these victories are not referred to in the family tradition as chronicled in the Aihole prasasti and other records of the family, there must have been some clash of arms between the Chālukyas and these two powers, a clash of arms magnified into a triumph by the composer of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription. The identity of the Ālūpa chief worsted by Kīrtivarman cannot be ascertained in the present state of our knowledge. However, the Gaṅga king with whom Kīrtivarman measured his strength was none other than Durvinīta[27] (A. D. 550 - 600), whose daughter was probably the mother of Maṅgaleśa. The battle between the two relatives Kīrtivarman and Durvinīta, does not remain incomprehensible if we remember the significant fact that Maṅgaleśa was a step-brother of Kīrtivarman I.[28] Besides, even the blood relationship proved insignificant when personal ambition came into question.

The next victim to suffer as a result of the imperialistic designs of Kīrtivarman were probably the Mūshakas.[29] In the Bhishma Parva of the Mahābhārata the Mūshakas are associated with the Vanavāsikas, Karṇāṭakas, Mahishakas (probably round about Mysore) Jhallias and Kuntalas.[30] From epigraphic evidence and references in Sanskrit literature[31] they seem to have constantly shifted

their abode and in the opinion of Prof. Srikanta Sastri[32] the Mūshakas whom Kīrtivarman is said to have defeated must have been staying somewhere between Banavāsi and Karnāṭaka.

Turning to the conquest of the Nalas, it has been suggested that the Nala King defeated by Kīrtivarman was Skandavarman[33], whose inscription[34] has been discovered at Podagadh in the old Jeypore State, represented by the present Koraput district in Orissa. The inscription states that the unnamed adversary, who defeated the Nalas and sacked Pushkari, was afterwards defeated by the Nala King Skandavarman.[35] The city of Pushkari which was probably the capital of the Nalas appears to have been situated in the Podagadh region.[36] The supposition that Kīrtivarman I was the unnamed adversary of the Nala King Skandavarman, appears unacceptable for two reasons. There is nothing in the said inscription to indicate that Skandavarman's anatagonist was a Chālukya king. Besides it would be hazardous to conjecture that Kīrtivarman I undertook such a long march, right upto Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, in the early days of the Chālukya rule. The question that now claims our attention is the region where the Nalas defeated by Kīrtivarman ruled. The Karnūl inscription[37] of the time of Vikramāditya I, the grandson of the latter, mentions the Nalavādi-vishaya, which was apparently named after

the Nalas. Since the villages situated in that vishaya have been identified[38] with the localities in the present Bellary and Karnul districts, it is likely that the Nalavādi under the early Chālukyas comprised parts of these districts. The Nalas must have extended their rule to these districts during their best days and the region was termed Nalavādi-vishaya on its incorporation in the Chālukya kingdom.

The southern boundary of this Nalavādi-vishaya coincided with that of the country of the Cholas of Renāndu, roughly comprising the districts of Anantapur, Cuddapah and parts of the Karnul, Kolar and Chitoor districts.[39] Kīrtivarman may have come into conflict with one of the chiefs of this family. However, the conquest of a Choliya ruler by Kīrtivarman I, mentioned in the list of the Mahākūṭa record, remains an open question, as the inscription is not explicit even on the point whether the Cholas defeated by the latter were ruling from Renāndu (Uṛaiyūr) or the Coromandel coast.

The Mauryas would appear to have ousted the Bhojas from their ancestral home in Goa,[40] and extended the boundaries of their kingdom as far, it would seem, as the borders of the present North Kanara district, thus bringing the whole of the Konkan under their sway. The Maurya occupation of Goa and the surrounding

territory sometime during the sixth century is borne out by the two Maurya charters - the Goa plates of Chandravarman[41] and the Bandora plates of Anirjitavarman[42] both registering donations of land in the villages located in the present Goa territory. Kīrtivarman, who was also following an imperial policy could not allow a rival power to lord it over the Koṅkaṇ coast. Goa was moreover of vital importance to the powers in the hinterland, possessing as it did the finest ports on the coast. The struggle for Goa seems to have been quick and decisive. The Chālukya monarch emerged triumphant and in the words of the Aihole praśasti[43] Kīrtivarman proved ' a night of death to the Mauryas.....' He appointed his kinsmen Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja of the Baṭpūra family[44] to the governorship of Revatīdvīpa, identified with the fortified promontory of Redi near Vengurla in the Ratnagiri district.[45]

In a charter[46] which he issued from the victorious Revatīdvīpa, Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman states that he was ruling over four provinces on behalf of the Chālukyas. These four provinces, which are not named, presumably constituted the part of the Koṅkaṇ, which Kīrtivarman had seized from the Mauryas. The charter[47] was issued on the full moon day of the month of Māgha, Ś. S. 532 or A. D. 610, and as this was the 20th year of his rule, it was in A. D. 590 that he was

appointed viceroy of the Chālukyas at Revatī.

The Aihole praśasti of Pulakeśin II, however, attributes, the conquest of Revatī to Maṅgaleśa,[48] the younger brother of Kīrtivarman. It is possible that Maṅgaleśa was actually in charge of the expedition against the Mauryas, and that it was under him that this important stronghold of South koṅkaṇ, viz., Redi, was carried by assault by the Chālukyas.[49] The Aihole praśasti[50] graphically describes the siege of Revatī by Maṅgaleśa:

> ' Punar = api cha jighrikshos = sainyam = ākkranta - salam ruchira - bahu - patakam Revatī - dvīpam = asu (I)
> Sapadi mahad = udanat - toya - samkkrānta - bimbam Vara (ru)ṇa - balam = iva = abhud = agatam yasya vacha (II) !
>
> ' When he was desirous of taking the island of Revatī, his great army with many bright banners, which had ascended the ramparts, as it was reflected in the water of the sea appeared like Varuṇa's forces quickly come there at once at his word (of command). '

It would seem that it was his seizure of south Koṅkaṇ from the Mauryas that brought Kīrtivarman into conflict with the Kalachuria. Just as the Chālukyas were endeavouring to acquire an imperial status in the Deccan, so also the Kalachuris were aspiring to the same position in Central India during this period.[51] Under

their able king Kṛishṇaraja[52] (A. D. 550 - 575) and his worthy son Saṁkaragaṇa (A. D. 575 - 600[53]) they had already advanced far into the south - west.[54] It would appear that the Mauryas in their despair appealed to the Kalachuris for help offering to acknowledge their superiority.[55] Saṁkaragaṇa, the contemporary of Kīrtivarman on the Kalachuri throne, accepted the offer of the Mauryas. This circumstance seems to have occasioned a bitter struggle between the Kalachiris and the Chālukyas, in the course of which Kīrtivarman seems to have met with an untimely end.[56]

As these were troubled times succession could not pass to Kīrtivarman's son Pulakeśin II, who was then probably a minor, with the result that the former's younger brother Maṅgaleśa was unanimously chosen as his successor.[57] To save the situation was beyond the power of even Maṅgaleśa. He must have been so hard pressed that he petitioned his grandfather the Gaṅga King Durvinīta for help,[58] and Saṁkaragaṇa was compelled to beat a retreat thanks to the combined strength of the Gaṅga and the Chālukya armies. This probably accounts for his presence in August of A. D. 597, i.e. after the successful attack of Maṅgaleśa and Durvinīta at Ujjain,[59] at a safe and respectable distance from the Chālukya territories. This, however, was not the end of the struggle, which continued during the reign of Maṅgaleśa.[60]

Kīrtivarman's great achievement was thus to check the Kalachuri advance in the Deccan and to expand the Chālukya power in the southern Koṅkaṇ, which possessed the finest ports on the west coast.

Maṅgaleśa, the veteran soldier and military genius, played an important part during the reign of Kīrtivarman. He is referred almost in the same terms as his brother, the ruling king, in the Bādāmi cave record[61] of Kīrtivarman I.

Vyāghrasvāmin who figures in the Godachi plates[62] appears to have been an eminent and versatile personality at the court of Kīrtivarman I. Well-versed in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, he was learned in the science of polity and possessed exceptional mastery over grammer, logic, drama, poetry and music, and was conversant with historical literature and the puranas. He is styled as Mahā-brāhmaṇa and Bṛihaspati (the preceptor of the gods) of the present age, and is described as holding the foremost responsibility of the entire kingdom, ' rājya-sarvasva-dhuraṅdhara.' Accordingly, it is not unlikely that he was the chief minister and head of the administrative affairs in Kīrtivarman's reign.

The Chiplūṇ plates[63] of his son Pulakeśin II describes Kīrtivarman I as the first maker of Vātāpi. However, as the Bādāmi cliff record[64] (A. D. 543) of

Pulakeśin I specifically credits the latter with the construction of the fortress round Vātāpi hill, the statement of the Chiplūn plates, must be understood to mean that Kīrtivarman started beautifying the city with temples and other buildings. This is proved beyond doubt by his inscription[65] on a pilaster in the verandah of the Vaishṇava cave at Bādāmi, which was inscribed on the occasion of the installation of the image of Vishṇu in that cave, which again was excavated under his orders.

Finally, if we are to accept the suggestion of Sri C. Sivaramamurti[66], the portraits of Kīrtivarman and his queen are left to posterity in the painted scene on the walls of the third cave at Bādāmi.

The catholicity of Kīrtivarman's nature is evident from the fact that he ordered a cave temple to be excavated in honour of Vishṇu[67], while we find him in his inscriptions paying reverence to Kārttikeya and the saptamātṛikās, the Śaivite deities. Yet another evidence of Kīrtivarman's patronage of Śaivism is preserved in the Mahākūṭa record[68] of Maṅgaleśa, which tells us about Kīrtivarman's gifts to the temple of the god Makūṭeśvara, a form of Śiva. The same inscription further credits him with the performance of Agniṣṭoma[69] and Bahusuvarṇa[70] sacrifices. His faith in the varṇāśramadharma is

manifested in his epigraphs which state that [71] ' he made his relatives follow its tenets.'

Kīrtivarman was a man of wide intellect and was conversant with all the śāstras. Above all he was charitable and made donations for the purpose of providing for the wandering mendicants.[72] And it is therefore not surprising that his subjects were highly pleased with his rule.

Kīrtivarman had three sons, Pulakeśin II,[73] Vishnuvardhana, and Buddha.[74] But due to the needs of the time, his younger brother Maṅgaleśa succeeded him to the Chālukya throne.

N O T E S.

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(1) Eggeling, ' An Inscription from Bādāmi,' IA, vol. III, pp. 305 - 306.;

Burgess, ' Rock-cut Temples at Bādāmi,' IA, vol. VI, pp. 363 - 64.;

Desai, P. B., ' Godachi Plates of Katti-Arasa; year: 12,' EI, vol. XXVIII, pp. 59 - 62.;

Nandimath, ' Godachi Plates of Kīrtivarman I,' JUB, vol. V, pt. IV, pp. 165 ff.;

Prabuddha Karnāṭaka, vol.XXIII, No:1, pp. 25 ff.;

According to the Bādāmi cave inscription, the full moon of Kārtika, Śaka-Saṁvat 500 expired, fell in Kīrtivarman I's[12] regnal year, and hence the full moon of Kārtika, Ś. S. 489 expired, or 490 current would be his first regnal year. Consequently, his accession took place, on some day still to be exactly determined, in A. D. 566 or 567; on any day from the pūrnimānta Mārgaśirsha Krishṇa I of Ś. S. 489 current, upto Kārtika Śukla 15, of Ś. S. 490 current (Fleet, DKD, pp. 344 - 45, n. 7.).

(2) Fleet, ' Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa,' IA, vol XIX, pp. 9 - 19.;

Fleet, ' Date of the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription,' IA. vol. XXXII, pp. 213 - 215.;

Maṅgaleśa's accession took place on some day, still to be exactly

determined, from the purnimānta Jyeshtha Krishna I of Śaka-Samvat 520 current, in A. D. 597, upto Vaiśākha Śukla 15 of S. S. 521 current in A. D. 598 (Fleet, DKD, p. 346, n. 4.).

(3) Eggeling, art. et loc. cit.;

Burgess, art. et loc. cit.

(4) Nandimath, art. et loc. cit.;

Desai, P. B., art. et loc.cit.

(5) In the literal sense ' Katti ' means ' a sword ' and ' Arasa ' ' a king '; hence Kattiarasa would mean 'sword king' (Desai, art. et loc. cit.).

(6) Fleet, ' W. Chalukya Grant of Mangala,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 161 - 162.

(7) Supra, n. 2.

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(8) Sastri, B. G., ' Two Ancient Inscriptions,' JBBRAS, vol. II, p. 7.;

Bhandarkar, R. G., ' A revised Transcript and Translation of a Chālukya copper plate Grant,' JBBRAS, vol. XIV, pp. 17-28;;

Fleet, ' W. Chālukya Grant of Nāgavardhana,' IA, vol. IX, pp. 123 - 125.

(9) Supra, n. 2.

(10) Fleet, DKD, pp. 281-282; 345 - 46.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid.

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(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Fleet, ' Aihole Inscription on Mēguṭī Temple of Pulekeśi II: Ś. 556,'
IA, vol. V, p. 67 ff;
IA, vol. VIII, p. 237 ff.;

Kielhorn, ' Aihole Inscription of Pulikeśin II: Śaka-Saṁvat 556,'
EI, vol. VI, pp. 1- 12.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Supra, Ch. III, n. 93.;

Moraes, op. cit., p. 60.

(19) Moraes, op. cit., p.61.;

ASMAR, 1918, pp. 42 ff.

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(20) Fleet, ' Chiplūṇ Copper Plate grant of Pulikeśin II,'
EI, vol. III, pp.50-53.

(21) The tenth verse of the Aihole praśasti (Supra, n. 16.) forms the basis of this suggestion. Rana-parakrama-labdha-jayaśrīya sapadi yena virugna (gna)m = aseshatah (i)
nṛipati = gandhagajena mah-aujasa
prithu-Kadamba-Kadamba-Kadambakaṁ (ii)
(10)

'Who (Kīrtivarman), having secured the fortune of victory by his valour in war, being a scent elephant of a king, of great strength, at once completely broke down the multitude of the broad Kadamba trees - the Kadambas.'

The expression ' multitude of broad Kadamba trees' being of special significance.

(22) Fleet, ' Karnūl Plates of Ādityavarman; 1st Year,'
JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 223 ff.;
IA, vol. X, p. 244;
Ibid., vol. XI, pp. 66 ff.

(23) Moraes, op. cit., p. 61.

(24) Saletore, Ancient Karnāṭaka, pp. 57 ff.;
Fleet, DKD, p. 309.

(25) Krishna Rao, M.V., op. cit. pp. 1- 20.;
Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, pp. 29 ff.;
Fleet, DKD, pp. 297-309.

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(26) Supra, n. 2.

(27) I have tried to prove this in my article entitled ' Durvinīta and the Restoration of the Chālukyas,' which appeared in JASOB, vol. XXXIV - XXXV, pp. 132 - 38.

(28) Supra, n. 2.

(29) The Mahābhārata, VIII, 9. vv. 58-59.

(30) Senart, ' The inscriptions in the Caves at Nāsik,'
EI, vol. VIII, pp. 59-80.

(31) Supra, n. 29.

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(32) Sastri Srikantha, ' Mūlakas,'
QJMS, vol. XXi, pp. 62-68.

(33) Sircar, ' Deccan in the Gupta Age,'
CA, pp. 188-90.

(34) Krishnamacharlu, ' The Nala Inscription at Podgadh - 12th year,'
EI, vol. XXi, pp. 153 ff.;
Sircar, ' Kesaribeda Plates of Nala Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka,'
EI, vol. XXVIII, pp. 12 - 17.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Supra, ns. 33 and 34.

(37) Fleet, ' Karnūl Plates of the Third year of Vikramāditya I,'
JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 225 -227, 235 - 237.

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(38) Fleet, DKD, p. 363.

(39) Sastri, Nilakanta, ' The Cholas,'
pp. 118 - 129;
Sastri, Nilakanta and Venkataramayya, ' Telugu-Chola Records from Anantapur and Cuddapah,'
EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 220 ff.

(40) Supra, Ch. III, n. 72.

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(41) Dikshit, M. G., ' Sivapura (Goa) Plates of Chandravarman,'
NIA, vol. IV, pp. 181 - 184.;
Sircar, D. C., ' A Note on the Goa Copper-plate Inscription of king Chandravarman,'
ABORI, vol. XXIII, pp. 510.514.

(42) Gai, ' Bandora Plates of Maurya Anirjitavarman; Year 29,'
EI, vol. XXXIII, p. 293 ff.

(43) Supra, n. 16.

(44) Sastri, B. G., ' Goa Charter of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman,' JBBRAS, vol. X, pp. 348 ff.;

Fleet, DKD, p. 345.

(45) Bhandarkar, EHD, p. 181 and n.4.;

Fleet, DKD, p. 347, n.2.

(46) Supra, n. 44.

(47) Ibid.

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(48) Supra, n. 16.

(49) Ibid.

(50) Ibid.

(51) Sircar, ' Deccan in the Gupta Age,' CA, pp. 194 ff.

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(52) Mirashi, CII, vol. IV, pt. I, p. CXCi.

(53) Ibid.

(54) Supra, n. 51.;
Mirashi, op. et loc. cit., pp. xliv ff.

(55) Ibid.

(56) Supra, n.27.

(57) Ibid.

Dr. Fleet suggested that in Maṅgaleśa's accession to the Chālukya throne and his attempt to secure kingship for his son, we have an ancient custom according to which succession passed to brothers and brothers' sons instead of the lineal descent from the father to his eldest son (DKD, p. 346, n. 4.).

This is stated to have been the custom in the Manipur state (' A peculiar Custom of Succession,' IA, vol. XX, p. 422.). And Major Temple says (' The order of succession in Alompra Dynasty of Burma,' IA, vol. XXI, pp. 287 - 293.) that it is the rule through out the Shan states, and has given instances of it in the Maler-Kotla state, and in the Alompra dynasty of Burma.

It is, however, obvious that this was not so in the case of Maṅgaleśa, for there is no instance in the whole course of Chālukya histrory when this custom was enforced.

(58) Supra, n. 27.

(59) Pathak, ' Ābhoṇā Plates of Saṁkaragaṇa, K. Saṁ, 347,'
EI, vol. IX, pp. 296 - 300;
Mirashi, op. et loc. cit., pp. 38 - 44.

(60) Supra, n. 2.;
Fleet, DKD, p. 347.

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(61) Supra, n.3.

(62) Supra, n. 4.

(63) Supra, n. 20.

(64) Panchamukhi, ' Bādāmi Inscription of Chalukya Vallabheśvara - Śaka 465,'
EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 4-9.

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(65) Supra, n.3.

(66) Sivaramamurti, ' Western Chālukya Paintings at Bādāmi,'
LK, vol. V, pp. 49 - 58.

(67) Supra, n. 3.

(68) Supra, n. 2.

(69) Supra,Ch. III, n. 102.

(70) Supra, Ch. III, n. 105.

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(71) Supra, n. 4.

(72) Supra, n. 3.

(73) The spurious Nirapān plates of Nāgvardhana (Supra, n. 8.) makes Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha a brother of Pulkeśin II, and therefore a son of Kīrtivarman I. But with the help of other genuine records it has now been conclusively proved that the root cause of ascribing this faulty relationship lies in Pulkeśin II actually having a son of that name.

(74) Jackson, A.M.T., ' A New Chālukya Copper Plate from Sanjān,' JBBRAS, vol. XX, pp. 40 - 48.;

Sten Konow, ' Sanjāṇ Plates of Buddhavarasa', EI, vol. XIV, pp. 144 - 152.

CHAPTER V.

MAṄGALEŚA.

Maṅgaleśa must have ascended the throne in A. D. 597 - 98. We are told in his Mahākūṭa inscription[1] that the Vaiśākha purṇimā[a] of the Siddhārtha year corresponding to 12th April A. D. 602 fell in his fifth regnal year. He seems to have presided over the destinies of the Chālukyas for over a decade, the earliest known date of his nephew Pulakeśin II who succeeded him being A. D. 609 - 610.[2] His name appears in various forms such as Maṅgaleśa,[3] Maṅgalīśa,[4] Maṅgalarāja[5] and Maṅgalīśvara,[6] meaning ' the auspicious lord.' He assumed the epithets of Pṛithivīvallabha[7] and Śrīpṛithivīvallabhendra[8] ' chief of favourites of fortune and earth,' and bore the titles of Raṇavikrānta,[9] ' valorous in war ' and Uru-Raṇavikrānta,[10] ' valorous in war as Uru.'

Maṅgaleśa continued the war with the Kalachuris. Emboldened by his success against Saṁkaragaṇa,[11] he now decided to carry the war into the enemy's own country - in the picturesque language of the Mahākūṭa record, 'to set up a pillar of victory of (his) prowess on the bank of (the river) Bhāgirathī,[12] i.e. the Ganges. The succession of Buddha[13] to the Kalachuri throne following

the death of his father Saṁkaragaṇa provided Maṅgaleśa with an opportunity to achieve his objective. At this juncture to make matters worse for Buddha, an outbreak of hostilities seemed immenent with his northern neighbours. In alliance with the Mukhāris the Pushpabhūti King Prabhākaravardhana was seeking to oust Devagupta,a feudatory of the Kalachuris from Mālwā and re-instate the Gupta princes Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta in his place.[14] Devagupta had defeated Mahāsenagupta, the father of these princes, with the help of Saṁkaragaṇa and accepted the latter's overlordship.[15] Caught between two fires Buddha was not able to offer any effective resistance to advancing Chālukya armies. Maṅgaleśa carried all before him, and in the words of the Nerūr plates,[16] despite his ' power of elephants, horses, foot-soldiers and treasure,' Buddha had to acknowledge defeat and forfeit his entire treasure to the enemy. The Aihoḷe praśasti[17] of Pulakeśin II proudly refers to this resounding victory of the Chālukyas and describing it in figurative terms says:

> ' Maṅgaleśa took in marriage the damsel viz., the fortune of the Kalachuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, viz., the array of elephants (of the adversary) with hundreds of bright lamps which were the swords of his followers.'

This event is to be placed within the narrow limits of

A. D. 600, when Buddha succeeded to the Kalachuri throne[18] and the 12th April, A. D. 602, the date of the Mahākūṭa record of Maṅgaleśa which speaks of the actual spending of the Kalachuri wealth on the procession of the image of the Chālukya household deity.[19]

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri interprets a phrase ' Kalasturi -śrī lalanā,' occuring in the Aihole prasasti as if to mean that a royal princess of the Kalachuri family fell into the hands of Maṅgaleśa on the field of battle when he writes,[20] ' Maṅgaleśa obtained on the field of battle the hand of the lady who had brought prosperity to the Kalachuris.' But there is nothing in this record to imply that Maṅgaleśa brought the lady of the royal house of the Kalachuris from the battle field. The word ' lalanā ' which apparently has misguided the historian, is obviously used for describing śrī, the wealth of the Kalachuris, and it certainly does not mean the lady of the Kalachuri house.

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri also disputes[21] the inference of Dr. Fleet[22] that as a result of the war with the Kalachuris the Chālukyas were able to extend their empire in the north at least upto the river Kīm. In his opinion Maṅgaleśa's incursion in the north was

' nothing more than a successful raid.' Now, the basis of Prof. Sastri's argument is the testimony of the Vadner [23] (August, A. D. 610) and Sarsavani [24] (October, A. D. 610) grants of Buddharāja, which respectively register the donation of the villages located in the Nasik and Broach districts. On the otherhand, it is significant that these grants were issued from the victorious camps of the Kalachuri king viz., Vidiśā, i.e. present Besanagar near Bhilsa and Ānandapura, i.e. the present Ānand in the Kaira district, and that they are separated by the short interval of about two months and a half during which Buddharāja must have marched from Vidiśā to Ānandapura. This was exactly the time when the Chālukya power was going through troubled times. The civil war between Maṅgaleśa and his nephew brought chaos and confusion in the empire and in the words of the Aihole praśasti [25] ' the whole world was encompassed by the darkness of enemies.' Buddharāja was certainly one of these latter who tried to recover the territories lost by him earlier.[26]

The war between Maṅgaleśa and Buddha forms a landmark in the history of Deccan. The early Kalachuris and the early Western Chālukyas, whose power was equally matched, were both aspiring to imperial position in the second half of the sixth

century of the Christian era. The scales of power were tilted in favour of the Chālukyas as a result of the signal victory of Maṅgaleśa over the Kalachūris.

Another achievement claimed by Maṅgaleśa is that he killed a Chālikya chief named Svāmirāja, who had won victories in eighteen battles.[27] The Nerūr plates which mention this bare fact, provide us with no sure details to establish the relationship of Maṅgaleśa to this chief nor anything else which would enable us to locate the place from where he ruled. It is, however, certain that Svāmirāja could not have been ruling from the Revatīdvīpa as has been supposed by a number of scholars,[28] since Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja - Indravarman had been ruling there in the capacity of a viceroy since A. D. 590.[29] But a careful reading of the Nerūr grant[30] itself reveals interesting points bearing on the present issue. To begin with, we find that the reign of Kīrtivarman is silently passed over and not even his name is mentioned in the genealogical account. We also gather an impression that the victory over Svāmi was a recent event, and the village of Kundivāṭikā in the Koṅkaṇ-vishaya was given to a brahmin as thanksgiving for the victory. Now, Kundivāṭikā is the present Kundi in the Saṅgameśvara taluka of the Ratnagiri district[31] and only a few miles

separate it from the village of (Mala) Keṭaka in the Karhad taluka of the Satara district, from where, as we have already shown,[32] Pūgavarman, the eldest son of Pulakeśin I, governed as the Chālukya viceroy till about A. D. 560. It is highly probable that after the death of Pūgavarman[a] round A. D. 560, Pulakeśin I chose Svāmirāja to fill this important post on the northern borders of his kingdom and that after the defeat and death of Svāmirāja, Maṅgaleśa gave a place under the latter's jurisdiction as thanksgiving to a Brāhmin.[33]

The omission of Kīrtivarman's name is also significant in that it probably indicates that at the time when the Nerūr plates were issued Maṅgaleśa had already decided to pass the succession to his own son as against the normal rule according to which Pulakeśin, the son of his elder brother, should have succeeded.[34] This must have given rise to two factions supporting the two rival claimants and the bitterness resulting from these factious quarrels may have been responsible for the omission of Kīrtivarman I from the genealogy in the Nerūr plates. It is possible that Svāmirāja was one of the principal supporters of Pulakeśin II. At any rate there is no doubt that he was an important personage. This is obvious from the description of him in the Nerūr plates that ' he had been victorious in

eighteen battles.' He was probably one of the casualties of the civil-war between Mangaleśa and Pulakeśin. From this civil war Pulakeśin ultimately emerged victorious.[35] Referring to the tragic end of Mangaleśa the Aihole praśasti observes:[36]

> ' Mangaleśa, whose great strength became on all sides reduced by the application of the powers of good counsel and energy gathered by him (Pulakeśin II) abandoned, together with the effort to secure the kingdom for his own son, both that no mean kingdom of his and his life.'

Mangaleśa has been described as a man with an intellect which is intent upon the true essence of the meaning of the sacred writings.[37] Although this description is merely conventional, it admits the inference that like many a ruler of ancient India Mangaleśa was fairly learned. He was undoubtedly an experienced and gifted military commander, equally at home at sea and on land. As his Mahākūṭa inscription puts it:[38]

> ' He is well-skilled .... in arranging peace and war, in encamping and moving forward, in attacking in the rear, in invasion of territories (and) in the construction of fortresses. He is as difficult of assault as (the god) Mahendra (and) like Rāma he has never been conquered.'

We have already described his conquest of •

Revatīdvīpa which was a rare achievement testifying to his abilities in organising a naval attack.[39]

Mangaleśa was a tolerant ruler in religious matters. He was true and loyal to the creed of his forefathers and like them assumed the title of Paramabhāgavata ' the most devout worshipper of Vishnu.'[40] He made a grant of a village for the purpose of providing flowers for the image of god Vishnu in the third cave at Bādāmi.[41] This, however, did not prevent him from being liberal to other sects. He supplemented the already existing grant to the temple of the god Muktēśvara, a form of Śiva.[42] It was in the courtyard of this temple that he planted[43] his ' pillar of victory of religion,' on which he caused his Mahākūṭa inscription to be incised. Nor did he neglect Brahmā. He paid due reverence to Brahmā and styled himself Parama-brāhmaṇyaḥ,[44] i.e. ' an excellent worshipper of God Brahmā.'[45]

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N O T E S

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(1) Fleet, ' Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Mangaleśa,'
IA, vol. XIX, pp. 9 - 19.;

Fleet, ' Date of the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription,'
IA, vol. XXXII, pp. 213 - 215.;

Bhandarkar, EHD, p. 182, n. 3.

The result regarding the date of the Mahākūṭa Inscription is obtained by determining the samvatsara by the mean-sign system (Fleet, DKD, p. 288, n.1), which is the proper one for this period, and according to which it lasted from the 25th Oct., A. D. 601, to the 21st Oct., A. D. 602, which was the fifth regnal year of Mangaleśa. This is the earliest epigraphical instance, as yet obtained, of the use of the sixty year cycle according to the mean-sign system. Mangaleśa's accession therefore, must have taken place on some day, still to be exactly determined, from the purnimānta Jyeshtha Krishna I of Ś.S. 520 current, in A. D. 597, upto Vaiśākha Śukla 15 of S. S. 521 current, in A. D. 598 (IA, vol. XIX, p.10P.).

(2) Fleet, ' W. Chalukya Grant of Pulikeśi,'
IA,vol. VI, pp. 72 ff.

(3) Supra, n.1.

(4) Fleet, ' Aihole Inscription on Mēgutī Temple of Pulakeśi II: Ś. 556,'
IA, vol. V, p. 67 ff.;
Ibid, vol. VIII, p. 237 ff.;

Kielhorn, ' Aihole Inscription of Pulikeśin II: Śaka-Samvat 556,'
EI, vol. VI, pp. 1- 12.

(5) Fleet, ' W. Chalukya Grant of Maṅgalarāja,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 161 - 162.

(6) Eggeling, ' An Inscription from Bādāmi,' IA, vol. III, pp. 305 - 306.;

Burgess, ' Rock-cut Temples at Bādāmi,' IA, vol. VI, pp. 363 - 64.

(7) Fleet, ' Inscription of Maṅgaliśa at Bādāmi,' IA, vol. X, p. 59.

(8) Supra, n.1.

(9) Supra, n.6.

(10) Supra, n.1.

(11) Supra, p. 86.

(12) Supra, n.1.

(13) Mirashi, CII, vol. IV, pt. I, Introduction, p. cxci.

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(14) Virji, Ancient History of Saurashtra, pp. 47 - 51.

Towards the close of the 6th century the later Guptas of Mālwā came into conflict with the Kalachuris of the Chedi country. This conflict probably arose due to the machination of Devagupta, who evidentally was a scion of the Gupta family. Devagupta would appear to have entered into a conspiracy against his kinsmen Mahāsenagupta, the then ruler of Mālwā, and agreed to have acknowledged the supremacy of Saṁkaragaṇa on condition that he (Devagupta) was installed as the sovereign of Mālwā. The Abhona plates of Saṁkaragaṇa seem to allude to the same fact when they

relate that ' he reinstalled families of kings who had long been dethroned ' and uprooted those that were too proud,' (Pathak, ' Ābhoṇā Plates of Saṁkaragaṇa K. Saṁ.347,' EI, vol. IX, p.299 ff.; Mirashi, op. et loc. cit., pp. 38 ff.).

Mahāsenagupta was probably killed in the battle and his two sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta sought shelter at the court of the Pushpabhūtis, who were matrimonially related to the Guptas of Mālwā (Bāṇa, Harshacharita, p. 119.; Fleet, ' Aphsad Inscription,' CII, vol. III, pp. 200 ff.).

That the Kalachuris imposed their hegemony on the Guptas of Mālwā is proved by the aforementioned Abhona plates of Saṁkaragaṇa which were issued by him from Ujjain, the capital of Mālwā.

In the death of Saṁkaragaṇa in A. D. 600 and Buddha's preoccupation in the south fighting the Chālukyas under Maṅgaleśa, the two relative houses of the Pushpabhūtis and the Mukhāris found an excellent opportunity to reacquire the Gupta territory of Mālwā for Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta.

In describing Vidiśā, the present Besanagar, one of the chief cities of Mālwā at this time, as ' his camp of victory ' the Vadner plates of Buddharāja (Gupte, ' Vadner Plates of Buddharāja K. Saṁ. 360,' EI, vol. XII, p. 33.; Mirashi, op. et loc. cit., pp. 47 - 51) clearly imply that the king had been called up north-east, presumably to repel an invasion of these enemies.

(15) Virji, op. cit., pp. 47-51.

(16) Supra, n. 5.

(17) Supra, n. 4.

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(18) Supra, n. 13.

(19) Supra, n. 1.

(20) Sastri, Nilakanta, ' The Chālukyas of Bādāmi,' EHOD, p. 210.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Fleet, DKD, p. 347.

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(23) Gupte, art.cit.;

Mirashi, op. et loc.cit, pp. 47-51.

(24) Kielhorn,'Sarsavani Plate of the Kalachuri King Buddharāja,' EI, vol. VI, pp. 294 - 300.;

Mirashi, op.et loc.cit., pp. 51 - 56.

(25) Supra, n. 4.

(26) Supra, pp. 99- 100.

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(27) Supra, n. 5.

(28) Sircar, ' The Chālukyas,' CA, p. 233.;

Mirashi, op. et. loc. cit., Introduction, p. xlviii.;

Supra, n. 20.

(29) Supra, pp. 84 - 85.

(30) Supra, n. 5.

(31) Fleet, DKD, p. 348, n. 4.

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(32) Supra, pp. 57 , 59.

(33) Sircar, art. cit., p. 233.;

Sastri, Nilakanta, Art. cit., pp. 210-11.

(34) The Kauthem grant (Fleet, ' Kauthem plates of Vikramāditya V. Śaka-Samvat 930,' IA, vol.XVI, pp. 15 ff.) of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī would have us believe that Maṅgaleśa duly returned the kingdom to Satyāśraya when he grew up to be a young man, the verse points the moral at the end with a question: 'Who indeed among the Chālukyas would swerve from the path of dharma?' This protestation on behalf of Maṅgaleśa is in fact, only a belated attempt to gloss over occurences mentioned in the Aihole record of Pulakeśin II.

The question of Ravikirti, the poet-composer of the Aihole praśasti being unfair to Maṅgaleśa does not arise as Maṅgaleśa has been given his due in the verses 14 to 16 of this epigraph, where his achievements are described in considerable details.

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(35) It is clear that Pulakeśin II and his successors never recognised Maṅgaleśa's right to the throne, and consistently passed over his name in the official genealogies in their inscriptions. But Maṅgaleśa's reign reappears in the grants of the Kalyāṇī Chālukyas, which shows that the history of the reign must have been carefully preserved in archives of some sort.

(36) Supra, n. 4.

(37) Supra, n. 6.

(38) Supra, n. 1.

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(39) Supra, n. 4.

(40) Supra, n. 6.

(41) Supra, n. 7.

(42) Supra, n. 1.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Supra, n. 5.

(45) A Chinese work entitled

' K ' iu-fa-ko-sang-chuan' attributed to I-tsing, who paid a visit to India in the first decade of the eighth century brings to light interesting evidence regarding patronage of the religion of the Buddha by the Chālukyas (Beal, ' Indian Travels of Chinese Buddhists,' IA, vol. X, pp. 109-110). It contains brief memoirs of the Buddhist priests of China who came on pilgrimage to the Land of the Tathāgata during the early period of the T'ang dynasty (A. D. 618 - 907) (Beal, art. cit.).

In the notes of Hwui Lūn, who was one of these pilgrims and whose visit to Magadha is placed in about A. D. 690 by Jayaswal, (An Imperial History of India, pp. 69-70) we come across the following statements (Beal, art. cit.):

> ' To the N. E. of the great Bōdhī (the temple just named) about a couple of stages, is another temple called Chālukya. This is the one which was formerly built by a king of the Chālukya kingdom in South India. This temple though poor is remarkable for the religious life of its inmates.'

It is obvious from this account that the temple was built quite some time prior

to the visit of Hwui Lūn in about A. D. 690 (Jayaswal, op. cit.), and hence, may have been erected at the instance of the five Chālukya monarchs from Pulakeśin I to Vikramāditya I whose reigns cover the period from A. D. 530 to A. D. 681. But, it certainly could not have been built under the orders of Chālukya Vijayāditya, as suggested by Dr. Jayaswal (op. cit.) for the simple reason that the reign of the latter Chālukya monarch commenced in A.D.696, while Hwui Lūn speaks about a period anterior to A. D. 690.

Dr. R. N. Saletore, on the other hand, was inclined to attribute the construction of this temple to Maṅgaleśa who according to him went to the Gangetic doab (Saletore, 'A Chālukya patron of Northern Buddhism,' PDHC, vol. I, pp. 138 - 141.). In the absence of conclusive evidence in favour of this suggestion, its validity is questionable, But, it may here be observed that Dr. Saletore's interpretation of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription (Supra, n.1.), in which he searches for a corroborative evidence, is hardly warranted by the wordings of the text of the epigraph. The passage under consideration runs as follows (Ibid):

> ' He (Maṅgaleśa), having set (his) heart upon the conquest of the northern region, (and) having conquered king Buddha, (and) having taken possession of all his substance, (and), with an eager desire to set up a pillar of victory of (his) prowess on the bank of (the river) Bhāgirathī, having determined in his mind that in the first place indeed there should be set up the prowess of a pillar of victory of religion.....'

It is abundantly clear from the above passage that the epigraph merely refers

to Mangaleśa's desire to conquer the north and not to the actual visit of the doab by him, as Dr. Saletore would have us believe (art. cit.).

CHAPTER VI

PULAKEŚIN II.

The most outstanding among the rulers of the early Chālukyas was Pulakeśin II, whose sweeping conquests in the Dakshiṇāpatha secured for the dynasty an imperial status. He must have ascended the throne sometime in A. D. 609 - 610, for his Hyderābād grant was issued in Śaka 534 or A. D. 612, which was his third regnal year.[1]

Left without a protector in his tender years by the death of his father, Pulakeśin had perforce to be prudent in his dealings with his uncle Mangaleśa who, as we have seen,[2] had been raised to the throne under exceptional circumstances. Accordingly, he preferred to go into exile rather than precipitate an unequal struggle, when he discovered that his uncle was jealous of him.[3] This was indeed a wise step in as much as it enabled Pulakeśin to elude the watchful eyes of Mangaleśa, who by sheer virtue of his position enjoyed an advantage. Pulakeśin profited by his absence from the kingdom to enlist the support

of parties not disposed favourably towards Mangaleśa. He frustrated the latter's designs to make over the throne to his own son and as we have already seen killed him eventually in the civil war that followed.[4]

It is worthy of observation that the Kaumudīmahotsava[5] a Sanskrit drama composed by Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, a daughter-in-law of Pulakeśin, has for its subject matter happenings analogous to those that preceded Pulakeśin's succession. This drama has for its plot[6] the life story of a prince Kalyāṇavarman, who, left forlorn by the death of his father Kalyāṇaśree[7] in the latter's fight against enemies, has his ancestral throne of Magadha usurped by Chaṇḍasena. Unlike Maṅgaleśa, however, Chaṇḍasena was an adopted son of Kalyāṇaśree, who again unlike Maṅgaleśa is represented as having invited the enemies.[7] But like Pulakeśin Kalyāṇavarman goes into exile and at length regains his throne with the support of the ministers loyal to his father.

It is possible that like her contemporary Bāṇa who worked up the events of the reign of his patron Harsha into a historical romance,[9] Vijayabhaṭṭārikā sought to weave the no less dramatic career of her father-in-law into a

historical play.

It may here be observed that the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal[10] sought to identify Chandasena with Chandragupta I of the Imperial Guptas of Magadha, apparently led by the similarity in the names of Chandasena and Chandragupta. Apart from this seeming similarity, there is hardly any parallel between the career of Chandragupta I[11] and that of Chandasena. For one thing, unlike Chandasena who was an usurper,[12] Chandragupta was rightful claimant to the throne.[13] For another, while the hero of the play Kalyāṇavarman, wins in the long run, Chandasena, the villain of the piece loses,[14] which is exactly the opposite in the case of Chandragupta I.[15]

Hardly less fanciful is the suggestion[16] of Miss Shakuntala Sastri that Chandasena be identified with Ādityasena of the later Gupta family of Magadha, and that Kalyāṇavarman, the hero of the play, be given a Varman lineage. For one thing the Aphasad record[17] (A. D. 672) of this later Gupta king does not refer to any disputed succession to the throne of Magadha, following the death of Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādityasena. Nor are the two names

Ādityasena and Chaṇḍasena synonyms as Miss Sastri would have us believe.[18] For, while Āditya is doubtless a synonym for ' the sun ' Chaṇḍa, meaning fierce, expresses merely a quality of the Sun, and can under no circumstances be taken to mean this heavenly body.[19] Further, just as in the case of Chandragupta I, so ~~xxxx~~ in that of Ādityasena there is no parallel between the careers of the one and the other. Ādityasena actually wins,[20] while Chaṇḍasena of the play loses.[21]

Returning to political history, the civil war between Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin must have plunged the Chālukya kingdom into confusion. This encouraged some of the powers whom the Chālukyas had subdued, to assume independence. This left the Chālukyas with few friends with the result that in the lapidary style of the Aihole praśasti,[22] ' the whole world was encompassed by the darkness of enemies.'

According to the same praśasti the confusion prevailing in the Chālukya kingdom offered an opportunity to Āppāyika and Govinda to attempt to conquer 'the country north of Bhīmārathī,'[23] i.e. the northern territory of the Chālukya kingdom comprising the

present Poona and Ahmadnagar districts. But this praśasti does not tell us to what dynasties these invaders belonged.

In the absence of any clue several suggestions have been made by scholars for a plausible identification of these chiefs.[24] Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar sought to identify Govinda with the great grandfather of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishna I who ruled from A. D. 756 to 772. This suggestion, though ingenious, is unwarranted for the simple reason that as there are three generations intervening between them,[25] Govinda, the progenitor of the imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty can only be placed somewhere in the later half of the seventh century, i.e. in the reign of Pulakeśin's son Vikramāditya I (A. D. 655 to A. D. 681).[26]

On the other hand there is a possibility of Govinda being the grandfather of Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja,[27] who is known to have ruled from his headquarters at Achalapura in the Amarāvati district during the last quarter of the seventh century (A. D. 680 to 710).[28] The identification still holds the field, having been accepted by scholars like Dr. M. H. Krishna[29] and Dr. V. V. Mirashi.[30] As

Nannarāja ruled during the last quarter of the seventh century, it is quite likely that his grandfather Govinda, appearing in all his epigraphs[31], was a contemporary of Pulakeśin II, who flourished during the first half of the seventh century.

Assuming that in about A. D. 610, when he invaded the country north of Bhīmā, Govinda, was twenty-five years old and that he died in about A. D. 655 having enjoyed the full Biblical span of three score years and ten, there is still room left for a reign of twenty-five years of his son and successor Svāmirāja, who in about A. D. 680 was succeeded by his own son Nannarāja.

About the identification of Āppāyika, Dr. Krishna[32] agrees with Fleet[33] in ascribing a Rāshṭrakūta lineage to this chief, for the reason that the territories of Āppāyika extended to the north of the river Bhīmā, which a century before were in the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Avidheya of the Mānapura house.[34] Dr. Krishna further hazarded the conjecture that Āppāyika was a great grandson of this Avidheya. For this purpose in between

Āppāyika and Avidheya he inserted two generations of Rāshṭrakūṭa kings appearing in the Kauthem grant[35] of the Chālukya Vikramāditya V, namely Kṛishṇa and his son Indra into the genealogy of the Mānapura house.[36]

However, the known facts of history go against such an identification. If the territory north of the river Bhīmā belonged to Āppāyika, as Dr. Krishna would have us believe,[37] where comes the question of its conquent by Āppāyika? In point of fact we are explicitly told in the Aihole prasasti[38] that Āppāyika and Govinda came to conquer ' the country north of the river Bhīmā.' True the region did once belong to the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura[39] but that was a hundred years before, and when in about A. D. 610 Āppāyika attempted to conquer it, the region had been in the Chālukya possession at least since A. D. 602, when Maṅgaleśa consequent on his victory over Kalachuri Buddharāja, annexed it to the Chālukya kingdom.[40] Moreover, no successors of Avidheya and no ancestors of Āppayika are known to history and therefore Dr. Krihsna's suggestion that Kṛishṇa and Indra mentioned in the Kauthem charter were son and grandson of Avidheya is a

mere conjecture, which can not be accepted not only because there is no historical evidence in its support but also because it goes against the established facts of history connected with this region.

As early as 1941, Dr. Moraes[41] suggested the possibility of Āppāyika being a descendant of Nirihullaka, a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Śamkaragaṇa, stationed somewhere around the present district of Baroda.[42]

The recent discovery of the Nagardhana plates (A. D. 573)[43] has revealed the name of a pīlupati or ' chief of elephant corps, ' named Māllāyika who was a member of the corporation of the elephant riders, which made a grant of land in a village located in the Nagapur district. He seems to have been subordinate to Svāmirāja, to whose reign the grant refers.[44] As suggested by Dr. Mirashi,[45] this Svāmirāja was probably a subordinate of the Kalachuris under Kṛishṇarāja (A. D. 550 - 575)[46] and Śaṁkaragaṇa (A. D. 575 - 600).[47]

A reference to the Saṁkhedā[48] plates of Śaṁkaragaṇa shows that the aforementioned Nirihullaka

was a mahāpīlupati, ' the great commander of elephant corps.'

On the other hand the Aihole prasasti[49] specifically mentions that Āppāyika and Govinda approached with their elephant corps.

Piecing together the testimony of the Saṁkhedā plates of Saṁkaragaṇa[50] (last quarter of the sixth century) the Nagardhana plates of Svāmirāja[51] (A. D. 573) and the Aihole prasasti[52] (A. D. 634) we have the names of three chiefs Nirihullaka, Māllāyika and Āppāyika. Significantly enough, all of them are connected with ' elephants,' the first two being the chiefs of the elephant corps. Furthermore, the names of the last two Māllāyika and Āppāyika end with the same suffix, ' ika,' a phonetic semblence which may suggest some family relationship between Āppāyika and Māllāyika, the former probably being a younger relative of Māllāyika.

The Aihole prasasti does not leave us in doubt as to the result of this encounter but states explicitly[53] that of the two ' one in battle through his (Pulakesin) armies came to know the taste

of fear, while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him.'[54] Dr. Sircar rightly thinks that Āppāyika was repulsed and Govinda was won over by the Chālukya monarch. In preceding in this manner, Pulakeśin seems to have pursued the time honoured counsel of Kauṭilya,[55] the political vizard of ancient India, when one was confronted by two enemies, to make friends with one while crushing the other. With his strength considerably reduced by Govinda's defection, Āppāyika could be no match to the Chālukya forces, and was obliged to beat a precipitate retreat. True to his word, Pulakeśin rewarded Govinda by appointing him as Rāshṭrakūṭa or governor at Achalapura, present Ellichpur in the Amaravati district. The family of Govinda appears to have continued in the services of the Chālukyas at least during the next two generations, for the feudatory status of the latter's grandson Nannarāja, under Pulakeśin's grandson Vinayāditya, is attested by the epigraphs of Nannarāja discovered at Sangalooda[56] (A. D. 693) and Multāi[57] (A. D. 710) where in deference to his Chālukya overlords he refrains from assuming any imperial title.

Pulakeśin next turned to the refractory feudatory chiefs. One of these insurgents was Rāshṭrakūṭa Dejja-Mahārāja[58] who was daring enough to issue a charter in his own name. This charter mentions Jambukhaṇḍa as the resident of the donee, which as the plates were actually found at Gokak, may be identified[59] with Jamakhaṇḍi, a place about forty miles to the north east of Gokak. As he disappears from history, there can be hardly any doubt that he was given a short shift by Pulakeśin.

The difficulties of the Chālukyas were a godsend to the Kadambas who had all but submitted[60] to them during the reign of Kirtivarman I.[61] Bhogivarman jumped at the opportunity to retrieve the losses suffered by his house and seems to have seized the territory which his father Ajavarman had ceded to Kīrtivarman I. An epigraphic record[62] of his reign enthusiastically chronicles that 'he acquired an extensive kingdom by the strength of his own arm and subdued his enemies.'

Pulakeśin laid siege to the city of Vaijayantī and stormed the capital in spite of the stout resistance offered by the Kadamba

garrison. ' When he was besieging Vanavāsi,' says the Aihole praśasti[63] ' which for girdle has the rows of hamsa birds that sport on the high waves of Varadā as their play place and which by its wealth rivalled the city of the Gods that fortress on land having the surface of the earth all round covered with the great sea of his army, to the looker on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water.' The victory struck the deathknell of the crumbling Kadamba power. To render them incapable of any mischief in the future, Pulakesin parcelled out their possessions among his feudatories.

It is possible that it was on this occasion that Pulakesin married a princess of the Kadamba family,[64] whose name unfortunately has not come down to us. She was his first consort as she enjoyed the appellation of agrama-mahādevi,[65] i.e. the first queen. The Māruṭūru grant[66] which gives us this piece of information compares her with such famous matrons like Sāvitrī, Suvarchalā, Arundhatī, Svāhā and Sachī and says that she was charming and good natured and possessed the qualities of political wisdom, humility and munificence.

This asura mode of conquest in which the power of adversary is destroyed root and branch, may have struck terror into the rulers of the adjoining kingdoms, the Gaṅgas and the Āḷūpas, who began to carry favour with the victorious monarch. In the words of Ravikīrti, ' the Ganga and the Āḷūpa lords being subded by his dignity were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him.'[67]

Sandwitched as they were between the Chālukyas in the north and the Pallavas in the south, with the latter of whom their relations were strained,[68] there was no choice left for the Gaṅgas but to accept the Chālukya hegemony. Accordingly, Bhūvikrama the Gaṅga contemporary of Pulakeśin[69] had to submit willinilly to the imposition of the Chālukya overlordship.

The Āḷūpas of ~~xxx~~ South Kanara on the otherhand, would seem to have willingly accepted the supremacy of the Chālukyas, a gesture which was appreciated by Pulakeśin, who promptly bestowed on them a part of the recently annexed Kadamba kingdom. The Āḷūpa ruler who had the necessary acumen correctly

to gauge the political situation was Kundavarmarasa.[70] For, if Ālupa Guṇasāgara[71] could be placed in about A. D. 675 we may presume that his predecessor Kundavarmarasa figuring in the former's Kigga record[72] was a contemporary of Pulakeśin II who flourished during the first half of the seventh century.

The rest of the Kadamba dominions were made over to the Sendrakas[73] who were already connected by marriage with the Chālukya family.[74] They were now invested with the government of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa district i.e. the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division of the Banvāsinād.[75]

The kingdom of the Cholas[76] lay in the Cuddapah district adjecent to the Bāṇa[77] kingdom in the Anantapura district. It is not improbable that the Cholas, who were so long under the Pallava influence,[78] were now obliged to accept the supremacy of the rising Chālukya power. This event must have taken place during the reign of Chola Puṇyakumāra, who in the inscription recorded in his fifth regnal year bears the distinct Chālukya title of Pṛithvīvallabha.[79] The inscription has been assigned on grounds of palaeography to the first quarter of

the seventh century,[80] which makes Puṇyakumāra a contemporary of Pulakeśin II.

Once the Chālukya power was securely established in Western Deccan, Pulakeśin would seem to have resolved to bring the Bāṇas under his suzerainty. Their kingdom lay in the present Gooty taluka of the Anantapura district.[81] An undated inscription[82] found at Peddavaguru, a village in the Gooty taluka, mentions the subjugation of a Bāṇa king Raṇavikrama by Ereyitiyaḍigal and the grant of a village made with the consent of the same Bāṇa king. It is not improbable that Ereyitiyaḍigal stands for Ereyya, a name by which Pulakeśin is referred to in the lithic record at Laxmeśvara.[83]

Flushed with success Pulakeśin led his troops northwards into the Veṅgideśa, which was then under the Vishṇukuṇḍins.[84] He overran the territory but the Vishṇukuṇḍins could not be easily subdued. They took refuge in their island fortress of Kuṇāla,[85] which situated as it was in the midst of a lake was well nigh impregnable. Leaving the reduction of the Vishṇukuṇḍins for a future occasion Pulakeśin seems to have penetrated into

the country as far as Pishṭāpuram, which then belonged to Pṛithvīmāharāja of the Rāmakaśyapa family.[86] In the Tāṇḍivāḍa grant Pṛithvīmāharāja describes himself as the son of Vikramendra.[87] This name often occurs in the Vishṇukuṇḍin genealogy[88]—a circumstance which would suggest that he was a feudatory of the latter. For it was the practice in those days for the feudatories[89] to call themselves after the name of their overlords. Pṛithvīmahārāja was easily reduced and from this place a grant was issued in Pulakeśin's eighth regnal year[90] corresponding to A.D. 616. Ravikīrti punning on the words pishṭa and durga says:[91]

> ' Pishṭaṁ Pishṭāpuraṁ yena jataṁ durggaṁ =
> adurggaman = chitram yasya kaler =
> vṛittam jatam durggama - durggamam.
>
> Hard pressed (Pishta) by him,
> Pishṭapura became a fortress not
> difficult to access wonderful (to
> relate.), the ways of the Kali age
> to him were quite inaccessible.'

The victorious Chālukya army then proceeded to the more formidable task of reducing the island fortress of Kuṇāla. The Aihole praśasti does not tell us how this task was accomplished. It merely makes the laconic statement[92] that ' Ravaged by him the waters of Kuṇālā coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons and the land within it outspread with arrays of accourted elephants was

like the cloud covered sky in which the red evening twilight has risen.'

The Arthaśāstra[93] speaks of the methods that were employed in capturing a fortress girt by a sea or a lake: intrigue, apasarpan or pretending to retreat, vamanam or winning over the people, paryavasanam or actual siege and avamartha or taking by assault. It would appear from the Aihole praśasti that Pulakesin did not or could not have taken recourse to the first three methods. He laid siege to the fort and carried it by assault,[94] an enterprise in which, to use the words of the same praśasti,[95] he employed, ' many weapons.' These weapons were probably the same as those described in the Arthaśāstra[96] and Dhanurveda.[97]

The reduction of the fortress was a useful rehearsal for the more difficult task of reducing the sea girt fortress of Purī,[98] now called Elephanta situated at a distance of six miles from the Bombay harbour.

Pishtapura seems to have been the northeasternmost point reached by the Chālukyan armies under Pulakesin II. With regard to the powers on

the periphery he was satisfied with the acknowledgement of Chālukya supremacy on their part. This is what is perhaps intended by the Aihole prasasti[99] when it says:

> ' Through the excellencies of their house-holders prominent in the pursuit of the three objects of life, and broken the pride of other rulers of the earth, the Kalingas with the Kosalas by his (Pulakesin's) army were made to evince signs of fear.'

The Kosalas are doubtless the Pandavamsis of the South Kosala (Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region)[100] while the Gangas must be the eastern Gangas ruling from the Ganjam district.[101]

The conquest and pacification of the Deccan having been accomplished Pulakesin could think of expanding the Chālukya kingdom in the west to its natural limits. He therefore, turned his arms against the Mauryas, who after their discomfiture at the hands of his father had been confined to the North Konkan.[102] The Chālukya supremacy as far north as the Ratnagiri district is borne out by the Nerūr plates of Mangalesa[103] which record a donation of land in a village in the present Sangamesvara taluka of

this district. In the North Konkan the Mauryas had their fortified capital at Purī,[104] while their civil capital may have been either Kalyana or Thana.[105] The island capital was attacked by the Chālukya armada and it was not without strenuous efforts that the fall of Purī ' the Laxmi of the Western Ocean '[106] could be achieved. Referring to the reduction of this island fortress the Aihole prasasti[107] says:

> ' When radiant like the destroyer of Pura, he besieged Purī, the fortune of the Western sea with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky, dark blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky'.

The Mauryas who had all along been a thorn in the side of the Chālukyas were uprooted, and their territories were annexed to the Chālukya empire.

The conquest of the west coast was of vital importance to the Chālukyas in as much as the region provided them with the emporia for the exchange of goods and materials produced in the hinterland with overseas product.[108]

The acquisition of the territories in the

North Konkan brought Pulakesin into close contiguity with the two powers of the north-west, the Gurjaras of Broach and the Maitrakas of Valabhi. These two powers now divided between them the sovereignty of this part of India which had fallen to them after the sudden disappearance of the Kalachuris,[109] in about the beginning of the seventh century. Describing this expedition of Pulakesin into Gujarat[110] the court panegyrist says that the 'Lāṭas, Mālavas, and the Gurjaras were subdued by his splendour and on submission they became as it were teachers of how feudatories subdued by force ought to behave.'

Lāṭa[111] in this period was a small territory south of the river Kīm. It had its capital at Navasārikā, the present Navasari in the Baroda district,[112] and was probably under the Gurjaras. The Gurjaras also held sway over the territory in the north bounded by the river Kīm and Mahī,[113] which territory together with Lāṭa had formed part of the early Kalachuri dominions.

Incidentally the mother of a Kalachuri prince Taralasvāmin[114] who issued the Mankani charter

in A. D. 594 bears the name Daddā. It is possible that she may have been related to Sāmanta Dadda I[115], the founder of the Gurjara family. If this be true, it may be that the Gurjaras were placed in charge of the territories represented by the districts of Surat, Broach and parts of the Baroda district by the Kalachuris who were their relatives. With the eclipse of the Kalachuri power the Gurjaras, under Dadda II (A. D. 620 - 645)[116] or probably under his father Jayabhaṭṭa I[117] may have converted the districts under them into an independent principality.

Mālwā at this time was under the Maitrakas of Valabhī. Their supremacy atleast over a greater part of this province is attested by the Virdi grant[118] of Kharagraha I (A. D. 615 - 621) , the father of Dharasena III, issued from the kings victorious camp at Ujjain in A. D. 616. As there did not exist a separate principality of ~~Mālva~~ the Mālva people at this time the power with which Pulakesin II came into conflict in Mālwā could have been none other than the Maitrakas of Valabhī. Although political geography of India had changed during this period, the poet appears to have used the old terminology

with a view to commemorate the victory of his master over an ancient tribe celebrated in classical literature, despite the fact that political power had long passed from their hands.

The claim made by Ravikīrti in connection with his patron's achievement in Gujarat have recently been called into question by Dr. G. C. Raychaudhari.[119] He remarks that the statement of the Aihole prasasti may simply imply that these small states situated as they were in close proximity established friendly relations with their powerful neighbour and may perhaps have acknowledged superiority of his might, but there is nothing to suggest that they actually became his feudatories.[120] But the truth of the statement in the Aihole prasasti is fully borne but by the epigraphs of the Gurjaras no less than those of the Maitrakas.

The Bhāvanagar plates[121] of Dharasena III issued in V. S. 304 or A. D. 623 speaks of his victorious camp at Kheṭaka, present Kheda in the Kaira district. The date falling as it does within the chronology which we have adopted for the north western campaign of Pulakesin, the evidence of the Bhavanagar plates in all likelihood would suggest that Dharasena III took the field on

this occasion against Pulakeśin II. It seems very probable that Dharasena was not able to stand the tide of the Chālukya onslaught. And it may be inferred from the fact that Dharasena drops the title of Mahārāja which was till then current in his family,[122] that he was compelled to make his submission to the Chālukyas.

On the other hand, it would appear from the fact that Dadda II styles himself as sāmanta or feudal chief, entitled to the use of Pañchamahāśabda, the right to use five great sounds, in his records,[123] of this period, that his independence was short-lived.

A further corroboration of the events related in the Aihole prasasti is found in the Kairā plates of Vijayarāja of April 643,[124] which disclose a feudatory branch of the Chālukya family which ruled in Gujarat during this period. The genealogy of this family commences in this record[125] with a Chālukya prince named Jayasimharāja. His son was Rājā Buddhavarman, the father of the donor, to whom are accorded the epithets of Vallabha and Raṇavikrānta.[126] It is possible that after the

successful campaign through Gujarat, Pulakesin II appointed Jayasimha or his son Buddhavarman as his viceroy. It is significant that the grant was found at Kaira, from where, it will be remembered, the Bhāvanagar grant of Dharasena III had also been issued.[127]

The Pallavas were watching with apprehension the waxing power of the Chālukyas. Mahendravarman I, the contemporary Pallava monarch,[128] must have been alarmed at the extension of the Chālukya dominion to the east coast at the expense of local powers which in all probability had acknowledged the Pallava supremacy. The defeat of the Kalabhras, whose kingdom lay in the region now comprising parts of the Chittoor, Bangalore and Kolar districts[129] brought the Chālukyas closer to the Pallavas. This victory was won for the Chālukyas by Vishnuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakesin who is described in the Kopparam plates of the latter as ' the churning stick to the kings of Kali family.'[130] Although the Kalabhras are not mentioned by name in the grant, it is evident that the record intends to mean the Kalabhra chiefs when it speaks of the Kali family,[131]

who were defeated on this occasion. This was an appellation of the Kalabhra, for in the Velvikudi grant of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭila Parāntaka Varaguṇa they are referred to as [132] ' Kaliarasana ' i.e. the Kali kings.

Mahendravarman could not play the role of a mere onlooker while the sphere of his influence was being thus systematically reduced as the result of the military activities of the Chālukyas. He exerted himself for once and succeeded in restoring the Pallava influence over the Cholas. This may be deduced from the fact that in the Dommara-Nandyla plates, issued in the tenth regnal year of the Chola Punyakumāra,[133] in which the Chola chief has not only given up the Chālukya title of Prithvivallabha but has adopted new appellations, similar to the titles borne by the Pallava Mahendravarman I.[134] Now, if Mahendravarman was thus able to bring the Cholas within the sphere of the Pallava influence, it naturally follows that the territory lying between the Chola and the Pallava kingdom in the present districts of Chittoor, Kolar and Bangalore which formed the Kalabhra principality was also brought under the[135]

Pallava political system. This weaning of the Renāndu Cholas and Kalabhras from the Chālukya influence was looked upon by the victorious Chālukya monarch in the words of Ravikīrti as [136] ' Pallava opposition to his rise to power.' Pulakesin II, whose career had so far been a cresendo of successes, forthwith took up the gauntlet. He put his forces in motion to punish the Pallavas, in all probability himself taking up the command. He soon entered the northern-most part of the Pallava territory lying in the Guntur district, where his presence is attested by his Kopparam plates, [137] dated in A. D. 631. These plates [138] record a grant of land in the Karmmarāshtra (northern portion of the Nellore and southern portion of the Guntur districts) made by Vishnuvardhana in the presence of Pulakesin II.

Proceeding south he defeated the Pallava ruler and in the words of the Aihole prasasti, 'compelled him to vanish behind the walls of Kāñchīpuram.' [139] His progress through the Pallava territories was, however, not uncontested. We learn from the Kasakudi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla [140] of the stiff resistence offered to

the Chālukyas by Mahendravarman who is said to have annihilated his ' chief enemies ' at Pullalūra. But the fact that Pullalūra is at a distance of only fifteen miles from the Pallava capital Kāñchipura, would show that the claim of the Chālukyas was substantially correct. The ' chief enemies ' mentioned in the Pallava record could have been none other than the Chālukyas, as they were the only power which could have been considered. ' chief enemies.'[141][142][143]

The conflict between Pulakeśin and Mahendravarman marks the initiation of an animosity which lasted for the next hundred and twenty-five years between the two great powers of the times. Apparently it is the Chālukyas that assumed the offensive. The expansion of the Chālukya kingdom at the expense of the Kadambas of Banavāsi and acceptance of their suzerainty by the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ, the Bāṇas of Anantapur district, the Renāṇḍu Choḷas of the Cuddapah district, the Kaḷabhras of the Chittoor-Kolar-Bangalore region and the Vishṇukuṇḍins of Veṅgī on the East coast, all of whom were at one time or other under the Pallava supremacy, was a sufficient reason to estrange[144]

the relations between the Pallavas and Chālukyas.

The triumphant Chālukya troops then crossed the river Kāverī and entered the country of the Cholas, Keralas and Pāndyas.[145] These powers seem to have studiously refrained from making common cause with their Pallava neighbour against Pulakesin. Eventually they saw in the fall of the Pallavas the dawn of the day of their own deliverence. Nor were they disappointed in their expectations for as Ravikīrti avers, ' He (Pulakesin) caused great prosperity to the Cholas, Keralas and Pāndyas he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost the army of the Pallavas.'[146] Naturally enough, after the Pallava defeat, these powers transferred their allegiance to Pulakesin. And the Pallavas were hard put to it to reduce them to submission when years later Narasimhavarman I, the son and successor of Mahendravarman, led several expeditions against them.[147]

In the meanwhile the clouds of war were gathering on the northern frontier of the Chālukya empire owing to the aggressive activities of Harshavardhana. Harshavardhana, who ascended

the throne in the first decade of the seventh century,[148] had a mortal enemy in Śaśaṅka,[149] the king of Bengal. He was a thorn in Harsha's side, and so long as he lived, Harsha whose attention was revetted on him could not think of extending the frontiers of his empire in other directions. Śaśāṅka, however, died about A. D. 627[150] and Gauḍa immediately sank into misrule. As the Mañju śrī-mūla-kalpa has graphically put it ' after the death of Soma (Śaśāṅka) the Gauḍa political system was reduced to mutual distruct, raised weapons (sic) and mutual jealousy - one (king) for a week, another for a month.....'[151]

Thus relieved from the fear of an attack from the eastern frontier, Harsha resolved on annexing Mālwā the region which then formed part of the Maitraka kingdom under Dhruvasena II (A. D. 627 - 41).[152] Harsha carried all before him and swept across this ancient kingdom as far as the gates of Valabhī.

In his forlorn condition Dhruvasena II, the hardpressed Maitraka king came fleeing to the court of Dadda II, thus justifying the paen of

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the later Gurjara panegyrist that [153] ' he gave protection to the lord of Valabhī, who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harshadeva.' It must here be remembered that the Gurjaras of Broach were a negligible power incapable of offering asylum to the Valabhī king against his powerful adversary of Kanauj. But Dadda II was a feudatory of the Chālukyas [154] and accordingly in seeking refuge at the court of a fellow feudatory, Dhruvasena II was in point of fact placing himself under the protection of Pulakeśin II, who was his own liege-lord as he [155] was that of the Gurjara king. It is significant that ~~the~~ Dadda II himself does not claim this distinction in his epigraphs. [156] It is in the latter Gurjara inscriptions [157] that this mole-hill of having accorded reception of Dhruvasena II was made into a mountain of having offered an asylum to him.

This unprovoked attack of one of his dependants on the part of Harsha, naturally drew Pulakeśin into a conflict with his north Indian contemporary. Pulakeśin mobilised his forces and inflicted a crushing defeat on his adversary. [158] It is not known for certain where the rival armies met.

However, since in the verse following the one which describes Harsha-Pulakeśin encounter in the Aihole praśasti, the river Revā (Narmadā) and the Vindhya mountains are mentioned[159] it may be surmised that the scene of the battle may have been a place somewhere close to the northern banks of Narmadā. It will follow from this that the Chālukya armies prevented Harsha from crossing this river and compelled him to beat a retreat. Nor is the course of the war described in the extent documents. While Hiuen Tsang merely observes[160] that among the countries invaded by Harsha Mo-ha-la-chā (Mahārāshtra) alone 'refused to become subject to him;' the Aihole praśasti celebrates the ultimate victory of Pulakesin II in a verse which has since become memorable:[161]

Aprimita - vibhuti - spita
sāmanta - senā - makuṭa-maṇi
-mayu khakkrānta padāravindah(i)

Udhi patita - gaga(je)ndra nika -
vi(bi)bhatsa - bhuto bhaya-viglita-
harsho yena ch-akari Harshah (ii)

' Harsha whose lotus feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured height, through him had his mirth melated away by fear, having become loathsome

with his rows of lordly elephants
fallen in battle.'

The defeat of Harsha must be placed in[162] between the narrow limits of A. D. 632 and A. D. 634, terminus ante quem being fixed by Pulakeśin's Kopparam charter[163] and the Aihole prasasti.[164] The former record, issued on the 10th October, 631 when Pulakeśin was present in the eastern Deccan is silent on this point while the event finds[165] mention in the Aihole prasasti[166] inscribed in A. D. 634.

In the early days of historical research it was suggested that the armies of Harsha and Pulakeśin must have clashed in or before A. D. 612[167] The two factors which constituted the basis for such a hypothesis were the evidence of the Hyderābād plates[168] (A. D. 612) of Pulakeśin II and the testimony of Hiuen Tsang[169] about Harsha's military adventures.

According to the Hyderābād charter[170] which was issued during his third regnal year corresponding to August 612, Pulakeśin acquired the title Parameśvara by defeating ' hostile kings who had

applied themselves to the contest of a hundred battles.'[171] The records of his successors aver that Pulakesin acquired this title by ' defeating the glorious Harshavardhana.'

The testimony of Hiuen Tsang about Harsha's wars was treated as a corroborative evidence. Writing about Harsha, the Chinese pilgrim mentions that the latter monarch ' waged incessant warfare, until in six years he had fought the five Indias. Then having enlarged his territory he increased his army, bringing the elephant corps upto 60,000 and cavalry upto 100,000 and reign in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon.'[172]

But there are several other factors which prevent us from assigning the Harsha - Pulakesin conflict to a date prior to A. D. 612.

To begin with, Pulakesin and Harsha who ascended the throne during the first decade of the seventh century[173] -- had their hands full in the beginning of their reigns. Harsha had to deal with the formidable Sasanka,[174] while Pulakesin had to restore order in the Chalukya kingdom, repel the invasion of enemies and recover the territories

lost due to the insurgence of his feudatories.[175]

There is yet another reason which would go against the possibility of Harsha-Pulakesin conflict having taken place before A. D. 612. After having suffered a defeat at the hands of Pulakesin, Harsha realised that no headway was possible against the Chālukyas as long as the rival political system continued intact. Consequently he seems to have attempted to wean the Valabhī ruler from his allegiance to the Chālukyas. The bait of a matrimonial alliance was held out[176] and Dhruvasena II succumbed in a moment of weakness. Now, if it is supposed that the conflict between Harsha and Pulakesin took place prior to A. D. 612 it would follow that Harsha had a daughter of marriageable age in A. D. 612 when he himself was barely twenty years old,[177] which is preposturous.

Besides, it is difficult to place implicit faith in the statement of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang. In point of fact Matwan-lin categorically states that Harsha was engaged in severe battles during the period between A. D. 618 and A. D. 627.[178] Hiuen Tsang was ill-informed about the latter's

early career, as is evident by his confused statement about Harsha's accession.[179]

Lastly the hypothesis that Pulakeśin assumed that ' Parameśvara ' on defeating Harsha cannot be regarded as satisfactory. For, according to Pulakeśin's own records[180] he acquired it by defeating many hostile kings, and it is only in the records of his successors,[181] that the title is said to have been assumed by him on account of his victory over Harsha.

The triumph over Harsha was undoubtedly an outstanding event in the annals of the Chalukyas, The epigraphs of the Rāshṭrakūṭas who replaced the Chālukya dynasty in the middle of the eighth century proudly record that the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga defeated the Karṇāṭaka army (forces of the Chālukyas) which had previously subdued the illustrious Harsha ' the lord of the entire region of the North.'[182] The defeat of Harsha was of incalculable value for the preservation of the culture of the Deccan. For in stemming the tide of Harsha's power Pulakeśin saved the countries south of the Vindhyas from being overrun by the powerful northern

influences and thereby helped them to proceed on their own indigenous line of development.

On the basis of a here-stone[183] discovered at Gaddemane in the Shimoga district of Mysore State Dr. Shamasastri,[184] Sri Srikanta Sastri[185] and Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray[186] surmised that Harsha advanced as far as south as Mysore. The inscription inscribed in the Old Kannada characters of the seventh century A.D.[187] runs thus:

Svasti Śrī Śila-adityan disam
bharggan akevalan aggala - kantakan-
peralke vare pettani Satyaṅkan
attulva - bhatan bedare Mahendran
Bedara rāyara Melapparra Kalegadule
viridu svarggālaya kkeridan belaya mela
keden kalyanum akka alivon pañcha - ma...

and is translated as follows:-[188]

'Be it well while Śilāditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful and a thorn in the way of the bravest ascended the throne of his empire, Pettani Satyāṅka, a brave soldier capable of destroying enemies in the battlefield, pierced through the thick of the battle with the brave Bedara Rāya, so as to cause frightfulness to Mahendra and reached the abode of Svarga. Whosoever preserves the field of crops.....'

These three scholars hold the opinion that[189] Śilāditya and Mahendra of the inscription represent

Harshavardhana (A. D. 606 - 47) and Pallava Mahendra I (A. D. 600 - 38), and deduced the conclusion that Harsha advanced as far south as the Shimoga district in the Mysore State.

Looking for evidence in support of the southward expansion of Harsha, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray[190] thought he had discovered it in a Sanskrit couplet[191] ascribed to Mayūra, the supposed father-in-law of Bāṇa,[192] the court-poet of Harsha. In this couplet a king who is not mentioned by name is credited with the conquest of Kuntala, Choḷa and Kañchī. But Dr. Ray should have gone further to see if his claim on behalf of Harsha was in consonance with the known facts of history. To begin with in all the Indian sources, Harsha is referred to as Harshavardhana and never as Śilāditya. True, the Chinese Pilgrim refers to Harsha by the latter name.[193] But he explicitely states that Harsha's southward advance was checked by Pulakeśin II,[194] whose kingdom he visited sometime in A. D. 641.[195] Harsha's invasion of the south could have taken place after the Chinese pilgrim left his court. By then Mahendravarman I was no more[196] and it was his son Narasimhavarman I that was on the Pallava throne.

Dr. B. A. Saletore while he rightly regards the evidence of the couplet ascribed to Mayūra as [197] ' praise in conventional style of a poet given to punning without any reference to historical accuracy,' suggests the identification of Śilāditya of the viragal with the Valabhī king Devabhaṭṭa, who according to this scholar was ' also called Śilāditya.' The suggestion, however, is unacceptable, for Devabhaṭṭa, as is well-known from the Valabhī inscriptions, was never called Śilāditya.[198]

Dr. Majumdar dismissed the claim of southern conquest made on behalf of Harsha and rightly guessed that Śilāditya of the viragal may be Śrayāśraya Śilāditya (A. D. 668 - 69 to A. D. 691),[199] a grandson of Pulakeśin II,[200] who is known by his Madagapora (A. D. 668 - 69),[201] Nausārī (A. D. 671) and the Surat plates,[202] to have been a contemporary of Vikramāditya (A. D. 655 to 681),[203] and his son Vinayāditya (A. D. 681 to 696).[204] He further suggested that if his identification of Śrayāśraya Śilāditya with the Śilāditya of Gaddemane hero-stone is accepted, Mahendra of the same inscription has to be identified with the second of the two Pallava rulers of the same name.[205]

Miss Viraji[206] rejects Dr. Majumdar's identification of Śilāditya with Śrayāśraya Śilāditya for the reason that he was merely an officer of the Chālukyas and had no throne of his own, leave alone the throne of an empire. The word ' empire ', however, is gratuitous addition on the part of the translator and the sentence be better translated simply as ' Śilāditya ascended the throne.'[207] But he was not a mere officer, as Miss Viraji would have us believe.[208] For we have atleast three grants of his issued in his own capacity as Yuvarāja,[209] which range from A. D. 668 - 69 to A. D. 691, found in the Surat district. It would appear from this that he was in charge of this region in the capacity of viceroy and military commander, and was probably placed in charge of a campaign when the necessity arose with the invasion of the Chālukya dominion by the Pallavas under Mahendravarman II.

Nor is it possible to agree with Dr. Sircar[210] when he remarks that Śilāditya's own charters do not indicate in any way that he was a subordinate of his father or of the Chālukya emperor of Bādāmi, but, on the otherhand, show that his political status was similar to that of his father. His dependence

on a higher power is evident from the fact that throughout the period of 25 years during which he held the office he never assumed a higher title.[211]

Miss Viraji's identification of Śilāditya with Devabhaṭṭa's son of the same name, who in the inscription of his son Śilāditya II (A. D. 658 - 685) is described as the lord of Vindhya mountains, is also unacceptable. For it may be contended that the very reasons which Miss Viraji put forward for not accepting Dr. Majumdar's proposition apply with greater force to her suggestion. She herself agrees as indicated by the genealogical chart given in her work, that neither Devabhaṭṭa nor his son Śilāditya actually ascended the throne of Valabhi.[212][213][214][215]

The Mahendra of the viragal could not be Pallava Mahendra I, for the Śilāditya who fought against him could have only done so in defence of the Chālukyas against an enemy who was able to overrun the territory as far north as the present Shimoga district which is at a distance of more than 150 miles from the northern boundry of the Pallavas. The only contemporary of Mahendra I (A. D. 600 - 635) bearing this name is prince Śilāditya of the

Maitraka family who is described as, ' the lord of Vindhya mountains ' in the inscription of his son Śilāditya II (A. D. 658 - 685).[216] We find him mentioned as a dūtaka upto A. D. 638 in an inscription of Dhruvasena II (A. D. 627 - 641)[217] who as we have already seen[218] transferred his allegiance to Harsha, and therefore could not have been on friendly terms with the Chālukyas.

Accordingly we should look for the Mahendra and Śilāditya of the Gaddemane viragal[219] elsewhere, and the only contemporaries of these names that present themselves during the reign of Vikramāditya I are Mahendra II (A. D. 668 - 670)[220] and Śrayāśraya Śilāditya (A. D. 668 - 69 - 691).[221] The former was the son of Pallava Narasimhavarman I (A. D. 638 - 668)[222] and the latter was a ruling prince of the Chālukya house. Mahendravarman II had but a short reign (A- D. 668 - 70) and is given the conventional praise of having enforced the sacred law of the castes and the orders in the Kūram grant[223] of his son Parameśvara I (A. D. 670 - 695). Some of the Pallava epigraphs like Velurpālayam plates[224] omit his name altogether.

The events mentioned in the Gaddemane

viragal could not have therefore, occurred in the reign of Pulakesin II.[225] They will be discussed in their proper place in the next reign namely that of Vikramāditya I.

Although Pulakesin was able to repel Harsha's invasion, the parties being equally matched the outcome of the conflict could have only been a pyrrhic victory for the Chālukyas, putting an unbearable strain on their resources. In point of fact had the Chālukyas not met with this situation there is little doubt that the campaign against the Pallavas which appears to have been called off owing to the North Indian menace would have been resumed and the Pallava power would have been in all likelihood irretrivably crushed. Nor were the Pallavas in a position at this time to profit from the helpless condition of the Chālukyas. For it was too early for them to recoup from the heavy losses they must have suffered during the Chālukya campaign (A. D. 630 - 31)[226]. In course of time, however, the Pallavas so far recovered from the wounds that they were able to make a fresh bid for the re-assertion of their hegemony.

It would appear that the Pallavas were supplied with the necessary leadership in the person of Narasimhavarman I, who must have succeeded to the throne in or about A. D. 635.[227] We are told in the Kūram plates[228] of his son that he led a number of expeditions against the Kalabhras, Cholas, Pāndyas and Cheras with a view to bring them once again under the Pallava supremacy. This was a direct challenge to Pulakeśin whose overlordship they had accepted.[229]

Pulakeśin therefore had no other alternative but to take up the gauntlet. We do not know when actually he assumed the offensive, but it is known for a fact that he proceeded straight to Kañchī.[230] On this occasion, however, fortune did not favour him. The Pallava monarch Narasimhavarman met Pulakeśin at Manimangala, at a distance of twenty miles from Kāñchī,[231] severely defeated him in a hotly contested battle and put to flight the Chālukya armies.[232] The initiative having thus passed into the hands of the Pallavas, they pursued the retreating enemy and inflicted on them another crushing defeat at Periyala.[233] This seems to be the Periyala of the Hosūr plates of Pulakeśin, a place which is located

in the Kunigal taluka of the Tumkur district of the Mysore State.[234] The Chālukyas would seem to have gathered their fleeing armies and made a stand at Śūrmāra, a place which still defies identification, but were again scattered by the victorious Pallava monarch.[235] The Kūram plates[236] of his son Parameśvaravarman referring to these victories aver ' Narasimhavarman wrote the syllables " Vijaya " as on a plate on Pulakeśin's back which was caused to be visible in the battle of Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala and Śūramāra.' Flushed with victory, Narasimhavarman proceeded northwards and entering Vātāpi, the proud capital of the Chālukyas, he destroyed it, in the picturesque phraseology of the Kūram plates ' as the pitcher-born (Agatsya) destroyed the demon Vātāpi.'[237] To commemorate this victory the Pallava monarch erected a testimonial in the heart of the city with an inscription[238] which proudly records that ' Mahāmalla Nara(siṁha) of the Bhāradvāja gotra occupied Vātāpi and siezed) a pillar of victory standing in that place in the thirteenth year of his reign.'

Pulakeśin was ofcourse not killed in the battle,[239] as some scholars would have us believe. If that were the case it is unimaginable that a fact

of such notoriety should have gone unmentioned by the eulogists of the Pallavas.

It would appear that in their fight against the Chālukyas, the Pallavas formed a combination with two of the neighbouring kings.[240] The inscriptions, however, do not tell us who these two kings were. But from the relative strength of the parties during the period we are speaking of, we may suppose that they were the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas. Pulakeśin fought this combination and would seem to have died in the meanwhile, and the struggle was continued by his successor Vikramāditya I who claims in his epigraphs to have acquired for himself [241] ' the regal fortune of his father which had been interrupted by three kings.'

This reconstruction of the Chālukya-Pallava relations is supported by the Mahāvaṅśa when it speaks of the help rendered by Narasiṁha to Mānavarman, the rightful heir to the throne of Ceylon, to recover his kingdom from the usurper Damshṭropatishya II.[242] Mānavarman we are told, came seeking refuge at the court of the Pallavas, and that ' when he saw that king's friendship was unfeigned he brought his wife also to India and lived there with her, ministering

to the king by day and night.'[243] 'While they were living together,'[244] so runs the chronicle 'a king, Vallabha came to make war against Narasimha. The forces of Māna as well as those of the king joined together and crushed the army of king Vallabha. Mānavarman displayed great valour in the field of battle beating down the enemy on all sides like unto Nārāyaṇa in the battle of the gods.' Narasimhavarman I appreciated the assistance rendered by Mānavarman and helped the latter with an army to acquire the throne of Ceylon.[245] The attempt, though it met with initial successes, was defeated in the end by Damshtropatishya, and Mānavarman once again returned to the court of Narasimhavarman.[246]

It is suggested that Damshtropatishya, began his rule in A. D. 640.[247] The usurpation of the throne of Ceylon by Damshtropatishya must therefore have occurred in A. D. 640; and since he lived on till A. D. 651,[248] the attempt to reinstate Mānavarman must have taken place some years before. Reasonably enough, the Chālukya-Pallava war must have preceded this event by a few years, for it was only when Narasimhavarman was convinced that he had not much to fear from the Chālukyas that he could be bold

enough to move part of his army to Ceylon to reinstate Mānavarman's partisans. But the fact that the troops that Narasimhavarman sent to Ceylon were insufficient to achieve the purpose - a circumstance which shows that the Pallava monarch had to keep enough troops to meet the Chālukyas in case they made a fresh attempt to retrive their losses. The conflict between Pulakesin II and Narasimhavarman I may therefore be placed sometime about A. D. 648[249], which appears to have been followed by the demise of this greatest of the Chālukya rulers.

This was the only reverse that the Chālukyan arms had ever suffered during the career of Pulakesin II. But the reverse, although it racked the empire to its foundations, made little difference to its territories which comprised the entire peninsula between the two oceans but for the southernmost portion which was divided among the Cheras, Pāndyas and the Pallavas.

Pulakesin following the practice of the times seems to have appointed princes of the royal family as heads of the provinces into which he divided the empire. It was thus that his brother Vishnuvardhana was placed in charge of the Chālukya territories in

the present Andhra Pradesh with Pishṭāpuram as their administrative headquarters.[250] Vishṇuvardhana had distinguished himself in many battles and had earlier held the governorship of Satara, as may be inferred from his Sātārā plates,[251] issued in Pulakeśin's eighth regnal year corresponding to A. D. 616 - 617.

Vishṇuvardhana's promotion to the eastern-most province, as would presently be seen, must have taken place in A. D. 624.[252] His Chipurupalli grant was issued on the fifteenth tithi of Śrāvaṇa on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which is described as the eighteenth year of his reign. This lunar eclipse occurred four times during this period,[253] viz., in Ś. S. 554 or A. D. 632, Ś. S. 562 or A. D. 641, Ś. S. 572 or A. D. 650 and lastly in Ś.S. 573 or A. D. 651. Among these dates the one that is in keeping with the Eastern Chālukya genealogy and chronology is Ś. S. 563, i.e. A. D. 641 the reason being that an inscription[254] of his son Jayasiṁha was issued on the occasion of another lunar eclipse which occurred on the fifteenth day of the eighth fortnight of Hemanta during the latter's eighteenth regnal year. According to the calculation of ~~Pandit~~ Śrī Somasekhara Sarma[255] this lunar eclipse must have occurred

in the month of Phālguna. Now during the period between A. D. 650 and A. D. 680, the ' Indian Ephemeris 'of Shree S. K. Pillai shows lunar eclipses on Phālguna paurnimā[256] in Ś. S. 579 or A. D. 657 - 58, S. S. 580 or A. D. 658 - 59 and Ś. S. 598 or A. D. 676 - 77. Among these years when a lunar eclipse occurred in the month of Phālguna, the one of Ś. S. 580 or A. D. 658 - 59 appears to be the eclipse which could occur in the eighteenth year of Jayasimha's reign, as stated in his inscription. For it is while counting backwards from this date alone viz., Ś. S. 580 or A. D. 658 - 59 that we come across a lunar eclipse in the month of Śrāvana, which is mentioned as having occurred in the eighteenth year of the reign of Vishnuvardhana.[257] This was the last year of the reign of this latter and the first year of his son and successor Jayasimha, for the reason that in the Eastern Chālukya chronology Vishnuvardhana has been assigned a reign of eighteen years.[258] On the other hand, if we take either of the remaining two occasions when there was a lunar eclipse in Phālguna viz., Ś. S. 579 or A. D. 657 - 58 or Ś. S. 598 or A. D. 676 - 77 as the eighteenth year of Jayasimha,

mentioned in his inscription[259] under consideration, we get A. D. 640 or A. D. 659 as the possible years of the commencement of Jayasiṁha's reign and last year of the reign of his father Vishṇuvardhana. But neither of these dates is acceptable since there was no lunar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa either in A. D. 640 or in A. D. 659.[260]

Seven years after Vishṇuvardhana's appointment[261] as the head of this province, in A. D. 631 Pulakeśin II would appear to have made this office hereditary in his family. For in the Kopparam plates[262] issued in that year Pulakeśin expressly says that Vishṇuvardhana ' secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son ' though he is still referred to in the grant as Yuvarāja. In his undated Timmāpuram plates[263] and the Chipurupalli grant[264] of A. D. 641, however, we find Vishṇuvardhana styling himself Mahārāja. It may thus be inferred that during the interval between A. D. 631, when Pulakeśin issued his Kopparam charter[265] and A. D. 641, the year to which Vishṇuvardhana's Chipurupalli plates are assigned[266], Pulakeśin II elevated his brother from the rank of a Yuvarāja to that of a Mahārāja for the reason that if the title had not been bestowed,

and if he had rebelled against the central authority, he could have as well assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja. The year A. D. 624 was not strictly speaking the first regnal year, but was loosely regarded as such because he was appointed to the province in that year, and where his rule was made hereditary in due course.

It must here be observed that the first seven successors of Vishnuvardhana[267] who ruled for the total period from A. D. 641 to A. D. 753, while they adopted appellations like Sakalalokāśraya,[268] Sarvvalokāśraya,[269] Sarvvasiddhi,[270] Vishamasiddhi,[271] Vijayasiddhi, Makaradhvaja and Pratyāditya, never adopted the sovereign title of Mahārājādhirāja, apparently in deference to the senior family of Bādāmi. The first Eastern Chālukya ruler to adopt the imperial titles of Samastabhuvanāśraya, Tribhuvanāṅkuśa, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Bhaṭṭāraka was Vijayāditya I (A. D. 753 - 770)[275], whose reign coincided with the defeat and destruction of the Bādāmi Chālukyas at the hands of the Rashṭrakūṭa chief Dantidurga (A. D. 730 - 755)[276] and his uncle Kṛishṇa I (A. D. 755 - 772)[277]. The latter's Poonā[278] plates of A. D. 758 already speak

of the overthrow of the Chālukya sovereignty as an accomplished fact.

In A. D. 625 - 26,[279] which corresponded with the thirty-sixth regnal year of the Persian king, Khusru II (A. D. 590 - 628), ambassadors sent by an Indian king were received at the Persian court. This interesting evidence of a close contact between India and Persia has been preserved by Ṭabarī[280] (A. D. 838 - 923), the Persian historian on the authority of a Pehlvi work written shortly after the death of Khusru II.

The name of the king who sent this embassy is given in the printed text of Ṭabarī as FRMĪSHĀ فرمیشا with two other variants of the name viz., QRMĪSĀ and QRMĪSĪA قرمیشا ، قرمیشیا.[281] The king is described as ' king of India ' in this account of Ṭabarī.[282]

Quoting from a communication from Nöldeke, the renowned scholar of Arabic, Fergusson thought[283] ' Pulikeśa ' was the Indian equivalent of the name of the king recorded by Ṭabarī. Nöldeke, in his German translation of Ṭabarī, however, was more cautious and stated that ' the correct form is

probably Pulukeśa.[284] Both Pulikeśa and Pulukeś[1a], however, are far-fatched and the Indian equivalent of FRMĪSHĀ, as has been rightly suggested by Von Gutschmidt,[285] could only be Parameśa, 'the supreme lord.' For in that case there would be no violence done to the form assumed by the name in Persian.

Who was this Indian King Parameśvara? According to Dr. Majumdar Harsha has a better claim[286] to this title as he was the ruler of North India and had Persian horses in the royal stable, as has been narrated by Bāṇa.[287]

But the learned scholar has overlooked the important fact that the title Parameśvara was never borne by Harsha in his official records.[288] The name by which Hiuen Tsang refers to Harsha is Siladitya,[289] a name by which Ma-twan-lin also designates Harsha when he speaks of the embassy sent by him to China in A. D. 641.[290] Therefore, it is not correct to assign to Harsha a title he is never known to have borne.

Now among the Indian contemporaries of Khusru II, it is an established fact that this title was borne by Chālukya Pulakeśin II.[291] The Chālukya

epigraphs[292] belonging to Pulakeśin as well as his successors give this title to him. Actually Pulakeśin was the first king of the line to bear the title, a style which became almost hereditary in the Chālukya family. We are expressly told in the records of his immediate successors[293] that Pulakeśin assumed ' the second name of Parameśvara ' as a result of his victory over Harsha.' Pulakeśin II was therefore the Indian king who in A. D. 625 - 26 sent his ambassador to the court of Khusru II.

The ambassadors took with them presents sent by Pulakeśin to the royal family of Persia[294] which included an elephant, a sword, a white falcon and a piece of gold brocade besides letters for Khusru II and each of his sons. The letter to one of the princes was marked ' private ' in the 'Indian language '[295] and contained the information -- a sort of forcast that he would be crowned king two years hence.

What with the meagre details at our disposal the nature and purpose behind the embassy cannot be ascertained. And the chronology we have fixed for the Harsha-Pulakeśin war does not admit of the suggestion of Fergusson[296] that Pulakeśin sought a

Persian alliance during his struggle against Harshavardhana, whom this scholar wrongly describes as the overlord of Pulakeśin. We can at the most say at the present stage of Pulakeśin's history that the embassy was of a complimentary nature.

Fergusson was also the first scholar to suggest that a fresco on the wall of the first cave at Ajantā represents a return of the compliment by the Persian king of kings.[297] The scene of this much damaged fresco depicts an Indian king, seated on his throne surrounded by the proverbial pomp and glory of a regal entourage, receiving a deputation of some foreigners, considered Persians by Fergusson.[298][299]

True, the style of sculpture and architecture in the first cave at Ajantā is ascribed to the first quarter of the seventh century,[300] a period which falls within the reign of Pulakeśin II, but in the absence of adequate data in either Indian or foreign sources, the historicity of the subject treated in the fresco is not unquestionable. In the present state of our knowledge the only permissible inference is that the painting testifies to the existence of an active intercourse between the

countries of middle east and India.

Hiuen Tsang passed through the kingdom of Pulakeśin[301] in about A. D. 641. Describing the capital of Mahārāshtra[302], the Pilgrim writes that it ' had a large river on its west side ' - and that it was situated at a distance of about 167 miles (1000 li) south-east of Broach[303], and about 410 miles (2400 li) to the north-west of the capital of a country which is called in Chinese Kong-kin-pu-lo[304] and is supposed to be Konkaṇapura[305] in Sanskrit.

The city seems to have been a stronghold of Buddhism for Hiuen Tsang mentions that ' within and without the capital are five great stūpas .... They were built by Aśokarāja. There are besides these other stupas made of brick or stone, so many that it would be difficult to name them all. Not far to the south of the city is a Saṅghārāma in which is a stone-image of Kwan-tsz-tsai[306] Bodhisatva.'

This description does not apply to Bādāmi[307] which is at a distance of 435 miles south of Broach and has no ' large river ' to its west. Nor can the description apply to Paṭṭadakal, which must have been a suburb of Bādāmi in those days for though it is

situated on the bank of the Malaprabhā it has no Buddhist associations.[308] In the present state of our knowledge the distance between the capital of Koṅkaṇapura and the capital of Mahārāshṭra is unhelpful in locating the place since the capital of Koṅkaṇapura has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

Under the circumstances, scholars have variously attempted to locate this capital spoken of by the pilgrim. M. V. de St. Martin suggested its identification with Devagiri or Daulatabad.[309] But the suggestion does not hold water as there is no river in its vicinity. Nor can we accept General Cunningham's[310] suggestion of Kalyāṇī, i.e. present Kalyāṇ at a distance of about thirty-five miles from Bombay, as this city is due south of Broach and not to the south-east of it as described by the pilgrim.

Dr. Fleet[311] agrees with Mr. Burgess[312] in identifying Pulakeśin's capital with Nasik, which is about 128 miles from Broach. They hold that Hiuen Tsang probably mistook Nasik as the capital because it may have been a base of operations

against Harsha.[313] Dr. Sircar rightly contends that ' the suggestion is not entirely convincing,' as the operations against Harsha took place about a decade earlier and there is no suggestion anywhere that this city ever became a base of operations. Instead Dr. Sircar suggests Ellorā as a possible secondary capital of the Chālukyas for it has a river to its west, whereas[314] ' Nasik has none.' The latter statement is not true, since Nasik is on the river Godāvarī, which answers to the Pilgrims description of it as a[315] ' large river,' while, though Ellorā has the river Girjā[316] on its west side, it is but a struggling stream. Further, within a distance of six miles on the south-west of Nasik, are the Pāṇḍu-leṇā[317] group of Buddhist caves, which may have had the saṅghārāma[318] mentioned by the pilgrim. And[319] finally, as regards the stūpas spoken of by him, one, at any rate, still exists, - near a small water-fall on the Godāvarī,[320] about six miles west of Nasik.

Moreover, it is already known that Nasik occupied an important position earlier under the Sātavāhanas[321] whose inscriptions are found in the caves at this place, and later during the reign of Vikramāditya I when his younger brother Dharāśraya

Jayasimha seems to have had the headquarters of his viceregal principality at Nasik.[322] It is therefore not unlikely that under the government of Pulakesin II Nasik enjoyed similar eminence and the Chinese pilgrim mistook it as the capital of the Chālukya Kingdom.

At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit Pulakesin had reached the height of his power. This is brought out adequately when the pilgrim remarks: ' The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty. The great king Śilāditya at this time was invading East and West, and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him, but Mo-ha-la-chā refused to become subject to him.[323]

His warlike qualities are aptly described in the Chālukya epigraphs, the account of the Aihole praśasti being the most effective, where the beauty of language is made to vie with the glory of his achievements.[324] The reduction of the fortress of Purī and Kuṇāl were outstanding feats, and though this is not the first time that the navy played its due role in warfare, the success of the campaign is a tribute

to the efficiency with which the fleet was made to co-operate with land forces. Pulakeśin infused a new vigour into the intrepid soldiers of Mahārāshṭra who won resounding victories under his able generalship. It is no wonder that 'the lord of Dakshiṇāpatha,'[325] as he is truly described in his Yekkeri praśasti, should have received the homage of many a tributory princes.[326] In the hyperbolic language of this praśasti, ' his pair of lotus feet was rubbed by the makara ornaments of jewels attached to the slopes of the diadems of many prostrate princes.'

The Chālukya empire did not undergo any change of fortune but enjoyed a period of increasing prosperity under him. This is beautifully brought out in the following verse of Chiplūṇ[327] plates that Pulakeśin ' taught the goddess of fortune who is fickle by the nature the observances of a true and faithful wife.' Apart from his victories, part of this prosperity was thanks to the ports in the Konkaṇ[328] and the increased resources of a large empire

Pulakeśin had decided leanings towards Vaishṇavism and he loved to describe himself as ' Paramabhāgavata,' ' the devout worshipper of

Vishnu.[329] He was, however, catholic in his outlook and not begoted. He made grants indiscriminately for the maintenance of Saivite temples,[330] no less than for that of Vaishnavite establishments.[331] Ravikirti, the poet composer of the Aihole prasasti, who built the Meguti Jinalaya,[332] was himself a Jain, a circumstance which shows that Jainism also enjoyed its due share of official patronage.

Of Pulakesin's patronage of scholars we have not a few examples. Most of his inscriptions are grants of land to Brahmanas,[333] with a view to encourage them to pursue learning and impart it to others. Pulakesin respected scholarship and was never slow in appreciation of scholarly merits. As Ravikirti aptly remarks:[334] 'In bestowing gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned, both together or either, (he) observes(d) not the rule of correspondency of number.'

Pulakesin bore the lofty epithets of Vallabha,[335] Vallabharaja,[336] Vallabhendra,[337] Prithivivallabha[338] and Sriprithivivallabha,[339] and assumed the title of Parameśvara[340] in addition to the usual royal style of Maharaja[341] and Maharajadhiraja.[342] He is, however,

best known by his title of Satyāsraya,[343] which is accorded to him in all the records of the Chālukya family. He also bore the cognomen of Ereyya,[344] while his name Pulakesin[345] occurs under two other variants Polekesin[346] and Pulikesin.[347]

N O T E S.

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(1) Fleet, 'Chalukya Grant of Pulikesi,' IA, vol. VI, pp. 72 ff.

(2) Supra, pp. 86 - 87.

(3) Fleet, 'Aihole Inscription on Mēguti temple of Pulikesi II: S ~~A.D.~~556,' IA, vol. V, pp. 67 ff.; IA, vol. VIII, pp. 237 ff.;

Kielhorn, ' Aihole Inscription of Pulikesin II: Saka-Samvat 556,' EI, vol. VI, pp. 1-12.

Page: 115.

(4) Ibid.;

Supra, p. 104.

(5) Vijjakā, Kaumudīmahotsava, Introduction, pp. 1- 4, 8- 12.

(6) Ibid., pp. 14 - 16.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Devasthali, G. V. ' Literature,' CA, p. 314.

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(10) Jayaswal, History of India, pp. 113 ff.;

Jayaswal, ' Historical Data in the drama Kaumudīmahotsava,' ABORI, vol. XII, p. 50 ff.;

Sircar, ' Unhistoricity of the Kaumudīmahotsava,' JAHRS, vol. XI, pp. 63 - 67.

(11) Ray Chaudhari H. C., op. cit., pp. 530 -33.

(12) Supra, n. 6.

(13) Supra, n. 11.

(14) Supra, n. 6.

(15) Supra, n. 11.

(16) Supra, n. 5., pp. 13 - 16.

(17) Fleet, 'Aphasad Inscription of Ādityasena,' CII, vol. III, pp. 200 ff.

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(18) Supra, n. 16.

(19) I owe this clarification to prof. K. T. Potdar, Principal, Ismail Yusuf College, Bombay.

(20) Ray Chaudhari, H. C., op. cit, pp. 610 - 11.

(21) Supra, ns. 5 and 6.

(22) Supra, n. 3.

(23) Ibid.

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(24) Bhandarkar, EHD, p. 183.

(25) Mirashi, ' The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura,' ABORI, vol. XXV, pp. 36 ff.;

Altekar, ' Was there a Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire in the sixth century A. D.?,' Ibid, vol. XXIV, pp. 149 - 155.

(26) Infra, Ch. VIII.

(27) Mirashi, Art. et loc. cit.

Krishna, M. H., ' The Early Rāshṭrakūṭas of the sixth century,' PIHC, vol. VII, p. 74.

(28) In the light of the discovery of his Sangalooda plates of A. D. 693 (Venkataramayya, M., ' Sangalooda Plates of Nannarāja, Śaka 615,' EI, vol. XXIX, pp. 109 ff.) Nannaraja has now been assigned to the period, A. D. 680 - 710 (Mirashi, ' Nagardhan Plates of Svāmirāja,' EI, vol. XXVIII, pp. 2-4.). Hence, Dr. Altekar's suggestion (Altekar, ' The History of the Rāshṭrakūṭas,' EHOD, p. 250.) that in A. D. 640 Nannarāja won the feudatory status for his family from Pulakeśin II - is no more correct.

(29) Krishna, M. H., art. et loc. cit.

Dr. Krishna, while he thought that the identification of Govinda with the grandfather of Nannarāja of Achalapura was possible, sought to identify Govinda and Āppāyika with the great grandsons of Bhavishya and Avidheya, the two rulers of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Mānapura which held sway during the first quarter of the sixth century. For this purpose, he gratuously assumed that Bhavishya was the great grandfather of Govinda of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Achalapura, thus linking the two Rāshṭrakūṭa families, the one which had its headquarters at Mānapur in the Satara district and the another which had its capital at Achalapura in the Central India.

Since Nannarāja, a grandson of Govinda of the Achalapura ruled during the last quarter of the seventh century his proposed great grandfather Durgarāja, who ruled three generations before has to be assigned to the first quarter of the seventh century. On the other hand, we have already seen in the third chapter of the present work that the last ruler of the Manapura house flourished during the first quarter of the sixth century. Dr. Krishna who linked the two houses and made Govinda a great grandson of Bhavishya

of the Manapura house has failed to account for the gap of at least more than fifty years between Bhavishya and Govinda.

Consequent on the absence of even a shred of evidence for the intervening period, linking of the two Rāshṭrakūṭa houses ramains unacceptable.

cf: Sircar, ' Deccan in the Gupta Age,' CA, pp. 198 - 201.

(30) Ibid.

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(31) Venkataramayya, M., art. et loc. cit.;

Fleet, ' Multāi Grant of Nannarāja S. S. 631,' IA, vol. XVIII, pp. 230 - 236.

(32) Krishna, M. H., art. et loc. cit.;

' The Early Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mahārāshtra,' Rangaswāmi Aiyangar Comm. vol., pp. 55 ff.

(33) It was in connection with the identification of Govinda appearing in the Aihole prasasti that Dr. Bhandarkar (Supra, n. 24) suggested a Rāshtrakūta ancestry. As regards the family of Appāyika, however, I have so far not found the reference where Dr. Fleet ascribes him to a Rāshṭrakūta family, as stated by Dr. Krishna in the abovementioned article.

(34) Supra, ns. 29, 32.

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(35) Fleet, ' Kauthem Plates of Vikramāditya V S. S. 930,' IA, vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff.

(36) Supra, n. 34.

(37) Supra, n. 27.

(38) Supra, n. 3.

(39) Supra, Ch .III, pp. 48-50 and 56-57.

(40) Supra, Ch. V, pp. 98 - 101.

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(41) Moraes, ' Pre-Kadamba History of Goa,' PIHC, vol. V, pp. 164 - 174.

(42) Dhruva, H.H., ' Three Land-grants from Saṁkhedā,' EI, vol. II, pp. 19-24.;

Mirashi, Saṁkhedā Plates of Saṁkaragaṇa,' CII, vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 44 ff.

(43) Mirashi, ' Nagardhana Plates of Svāmirāja,' EI, vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 ff.

(44) Ibid.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Mirashi, op. et loc.cit., Introduction, p. cxci.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Supra, n. 42.

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(49) Supra, n. 3.

(50) Supra, n. 42.

(51) Supra, n. 43.

(52) Supra, n. 3.

(53) Ibid.

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(54) Sircar, 'The Chālukyas,' CA, pp. 227 ff.

(55) Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra, Bk. VII, Ch. VII.

(56) Supra, n. 31.

(57) Ibid.

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(58) Rao, Laxminarayana, ' Gokāk Plates of Dejja-Mahārāja,' EI, vol. XXI, pp. 291 ff.;

Desai, P. B., Jainism in South India, pp. 111 - 112 n. 4.

(59) Ibid.

(60) Supra, pp. 79 - 80.

(61) Moraes, op. cit., pp. 61 - 63.

(62) ASMAR, 1918, pp. 42 ff.

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(63) Supra, n. 3.

(64) Ramesan, ' The Mārutūru Plates of Pulakeśin II,' APHAS, No.6, pp. 11-39.

(65) Ibid.

(66) Ibid.

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(67) Supra, n. 3.

(68) Krishna Rao, M. V., op. cit., p. 48.;

Baji, A., ' The Western Gaṅgas and the Chālukya - Pallava feuds,' IHQ, vol. XXVIII, pp. 58 -67.

(69) Krishna Rao, M. V., op. cit., pp. 46 ff.

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(70) EC, vol. VI, Kp., 38.

(71) Ibid.;

Moraes , op. cit., p. 77.

(72) Supra, n. 70.

(73) Moraes, op. cit., pp. 78 - 79.

(74) Fleet, ' Chiplūṇ Copper-plate Grant of Pulikeśin II,'
EI, vol. III, pp. 50-53.

(75) Moraes, op. cit., p. 76.;

Fleet, ' Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,'
IA, vol. XIX, p. 145.

(76) Sastri, Nilakanta, The Colas, pp. 118 - 129.;

Sastri,Nilakanta and Venkataramayya,
'Telugu - Chola Records from Anantapur and Cuddapah,'
EI,vol. XXVII, pp. 220 ff.

(77) Mahalingam, ' The Bāṇas in South Indian History,'
JIH, vol. XXIX, pp. 153 - 181, 277 - 305.

(78) Supra, n. 76.

(79) Ibid.

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(80) Ibid.

(81) Supra, n. 77.

(82) ARSIE, 1921, pp. 20, 87.;

SII, Vol. IX, pt. I, p. 26.

(83) Fleet, 'Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 101 - 112.

(84) Krishna Rao, B. V., , Early Dynasties of Andhradesa, pp. 401 ff.;

Sircar, Successors of Sātavāhanas, pp. 97 ff.

(85) Sastri Nilakanta, ' The Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi,' EHOD, pp. 214 - 215.;

Sircar, ' The Chālukyas,' CA, pp. 238-239.

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(86) Panchamukhi, ' Tāṇḍivāḍa Grant of Prithivī-Mahārāja 46th Year,' EI, vol. XXIII, pp. 93-95.

(87) Ibid.

(88) Sircar, ' Deccan in the Gupta Age,' CA, pp. 206 ff.; p. 714.

(89) Supra, n. 84.

Numerous examples of this practice can be cited. In the Penukoṇḍa plates of the W. Gaṅga king Mādhava II (Rice, 'Penukoṇḍa Plates of Mādhava II,' EI, vol. XIV, pp. 331 - 336.) we are told that the kings Simhavarman and Skandavarman of this family were so named on account of their having been installed on the Gaṅga throne by the Pallava kings bearing the same names. In the history of the Chālukyas themselves, we have the examples of their feudatories the Choḷas of Renāṇḍu (Supra, n. 76) and the Bāṇas of Anantapur (Supra, n. 77) adopting the names borne by their Chālukya overlords.

(90) Supra, n. 64.

(91) Supra, n. 3.

(92) Ibid.

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(93) Kauṭilya, op. cit.

(94) Supra, n. 3.

(95) Ibid.

(96) Kauṭilya, op. cit., Bk. II, Ch. III; Bk. XIII, Ch. IV.

(97) Dikshitar, War in Ancient India, pp. 93-151.

(98) Gadre, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, pp. 45.;

Following are the references giving different views about the identification of Purī.

Bhave, V.K.,'Purī, the Capital of Koṅkaṇ,' PIHC, vol. IV, pp. 86 - 89.;

' A fresh light on Ghārāpurī,' PIHC, vol. V, pp. 264 - 266.;

Fleet, DKD, pp. 283 - 284.;

Gousens, Medieval Temples of the Dekkan, pp. 79 ff.

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(99) Supra, n. 3.

(100) Sircar, ' The Chālukyas,' CA, p. 238.

(101) Ibid.

(102) Supra, pp. 83-85.

(103)Fleet, ' W. Chalukya Grant of Maṅgala,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 161 ff.

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(104) Supra, n. 98.

(105) Altekar, The Śilāhāras of Western India, P. 402.

(106) Supra, n. 3.

(107) Ibid.

(108) Kane, 'Ancient History and Geography of Konkana,' POC, vols. I - II, pp. 365 - 392.

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(109) Dr. Mirashi's suggestion that Pulakeśin II defeated Kalachuri Buddharāja is not at all convincing. The most significant objection to this suggestion (Mirashi, op. et loc. cit., p.1.) comes from the Aihole prasasti (Supra, n. 3.), which while it mentions Pulakesin's less powerful opponents like Govinda and Appāyika does not refer to Buddharāja or his family among the people subdued by the Chālukya emperor. This apart, the prasasti specifically mentions that Govinda and Appāyika came to conquer the country ' north of Bhimārathi ' - a fact which seems to indicate that the place of Buddharāja in that region was taken up by these two chiefs.

(110) Supra, n. 3.

(111) Fleet, DKD, pp. 314 - 316.

(112) Ibid.

(113) Ibid.

(114) Gadre, op. cit.; pp. 4 ff.;
Sircar, ' Deccan in the Gupta Age,' CA, p. 197.

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(115) Ibid.

(116) Mirashi, op. et loc. cit., Introduction, pp. li, lii and cxc.

(117) Ibid.

(118) Gadre, ' Virdi Copper-plates of Samvat 297,' POC, vol. VII, pp. 659 ff.

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(119) Raychaudhari, G. C., ' Note on the verse 22 of the Aihole Inscription,' PIHC, vol. XIII, pp. 62 - 63.

(120) Ibid.

(121) Diskalkar, ' The Bhāvanagar Copper-Plates dated 304,' EI, vol.XXI, pp. 181 ff.; Watson Museum Report, 1925-26, pp. 14 ff.

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(122) Virji op. cit., p. 68.

(123) Mirashi, op. et loc. cit.; Nos, 10 to 13 b, pp. 57 - 82.

(124) Fleet, ' Khēdā Grant of Vijayarāja,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 243 -53.;
Acharya, HIG, vol. I, No.102.

(125) Ibid.

(126) Ibid.

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(127) Supra, n. 121.

(128) Gopalan, op. cit. pp. 88-90.

(129) Venkataramana, K. R., ' A Note on the Kalabharas,'
JIH, vol. XXXIV, pp. 186 - 189.

(130) Hultzsch, ' Kopparam Plates of Pulakesin II: A. D. 631,'
EI, vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.;

Laxmanrao, K. V., ' The Kopparam Plates of Pulakesin II,'
ABORI, vol. IV, pp. 143 ff.

In this article Shri K. V. Laxmanrao (art. cit.) identifies Pṛithvī Duvarāja of the Kopparam plates with Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of Goa Grant (Sastri, B. G., JBBRAS, vol. X, pp. 348 ff.). But while editing the Kopparam plates Hultzsch suggests (art. cit.) that the term Duvarāja of this grant is a ' Dravidian tadbhava ' of Sanskrit word Yuvarāja and tries to identify Prithvī Duvarāja with Yuvarāja Vishṇuvardhana - an interpretation which is now accepted.

(131) Hultzsch (Supra, n. 130.), however, read Kali-Khalānāṁ instead of Kali-kulānāṁ which is the correct reading of the text.

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(132) Sastri, H. K., ' Velvikudi Grant of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan,' EI, vol. XVII, pp. 291-309.

(133) Narasimhasvami, ' Dommara-Nandyal Plates of Puṇyakumāra: 10th year,' EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 268 ff.

(134) Ibid;

Supra, n. 126.

(135) Supra, n. 129.

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(136) Supra, n. 3.

(137) Supra, n. 130.

(138) Ibid.

(139) Supra, n. 3.

(140) Hultzsch, ' Kasakudi Plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla,' SII, vol. II, pt. III, pp. 342 ff.

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(141) Ibid.

(142) Ibid.

(143) Subramaniam, T. N., ' The Pullalore battle of Mahendravarman,' POC, vol. VIII, pp. 605 - 623.

The enemy worsted by Pallava Mahendravarman I in the battle of Pullalore could not be the Ganga Durvinita as suggested by Mr. Subramaniam in this article, for it is known for a fact that Bhuvikrama and not Durvinita was the contemporary of Mahendravarman (Supra, n.69).

(144) The Pallava-Chalukya conflict cannot be considered an outcome of the old hatred between the two families before they entered India as supposed by Rice (Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, P.62). The theory of foreign origin propounded by this scholar is now obsolete and therefore there is no need to refute his argument regarding the possible root of the Pallava-Chalukya conflict.

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(145) Supra, n. 3.

(146) Ibid.

(147) Hultzsch, ' A Pallava Grant from Kuram,' SII, vol. I, pt. IV, pp. 144 ff.;

' Revised text and translation of two of the Kuram Plates,' EI, vol. XVII, pp. 340.

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(148) Mookerji, Harsha, pp. 9 ff.

(149) Ibid., pp. 18, 28- 30.

(150) While travelling through Magadha in A. D. 637 - 38 (Watters, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 115 ff.) Hiuen Tsang noted that Śaśāṅka had lately cut down the Bodhi tree at Gayā and died shortly after (Beal, op.cit., vol. II, pp. 122 ff.)

(151) Jayaswal, Imperial History of India, pp. 50 -51.

(152) Virji, op. cit, pp. 71 - 76.;

Supra n. 118.

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(153) Bhagawanlal Indraji, ' A New Gurjara Copper-Plate Grant,' IA, vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff,;

Vats and Diskalkar, ' Ajaneri Plates of Gurjara Jayabhaṭṭa III K. 461,' EI, vol. XXV, ppi 292 ff.;

Acharya, G. V. ' A grant of Gurjara king Jayabhaṭṭa III: K. Year 486,' EI, vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.;

Mirashi, op. et loc.cit., Nos, 21, 22 and 24.

(154) Supra, pp. 133 - 137.

(155) Ibid.

(156) Supra, n. 123.

(157) Supra, n. 153.

(158) Supra, n. 3.;

Watters, op. cit.; vol. II, pp. 239;

Beal, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 259;

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Dasgupta, 'Harsa's War with Pulakeśin II,' Ind. cul., vol. VI, pp. 449-454.

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(159) Supra, n. 3.

(160) Supra, n. 158.

(161) Supra, n. 3.

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(162) Altekar, 'Date of Harsha-Pulakeśin War,' ABORI, vol. XIII, pp. 300-306.;

Srivatsava, B. N., 'The Chronology of the Campaigns of Harsha,' PIHC, vol. XV, pp. 98-101.;

Virji, op. cit.; pp. 71-76, 137 - 138.

(163) Supra, n. 130.

(164) Supra, n. 3.

(165) Supra, n. 130.

(166) Supra, n. 3.

(167) Fleet, DKD, p. 351.;

Mookerji, Harsha, p. 36, n.1.;

Vaidya, op. cit., vol. I, p. 13.;

Chattopadhyaya, 'The Date of Harsha-Pulakeśin War,' PIHC, vol. III, pp. 586-604.;

Saletore, B., 'Harshavardhana in the Karṇāṭaka,' QJMS, vol. XXII, p. 317.;

Smith, Vincent, Early History of India, pp. 353 - 354.

(168) Supra, n. 1.

(169) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, p. 343.
Beal, however, translates the passage differently implying that Harsha fought for 30 years (Beal, op. cit., vol.I, p. 213.).

(170) Supra, n. 1.

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(171) Hultzsch, ' Gadvāl Plates of Vikramāditya I, A. D. 614,'
EI, vol. X, pp. 100 ff.;

Vats, ' Poonā Plates of Vināyaditya: Ś. 612,'
EI, vol. XXV, pp. 289 - 291.;

Upadhyaya, ' A Grant of the Western Chālukya Vijayāditya: Śaka 653,'
Ibid, pp. 21-25.;

Khare, 'Narwan Plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya II,'
EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 125 - 131.

(172) Supra, n. 169.

(173) Supra, n. 1 and 148.

(174) Supra, n. 149.

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(175) Supra, n. 3.

(176) Virji, op. cit., pp. 70 -76.; Appendix:F.

(177) Supposing that Harsha was 20 years old when he ascended the throne in A.D. 606 (Supra, n.148) he would be 26 years old in A. D. 612, and therefore could not possibly have a daughter of marriagable age in A. D. 612.

(178) 'Ma-twan-lin's account of India,' JASB, vol. VI, pp. 61-75.

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(179) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, p. 343.

(180) Supra, n. 1.

(181) Supra, n. 171.

(182) Fleet, ' Rāshtrakūṭa Grant of Dantidurga S. 675.' IA, vol. XI, pp. 108 ff.

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(183) Mys. Arch. Dept., 1923, pp. 63 ff.

(184) Ibid.

(185) Sastri, Srikanta, ' Conquest of Śilāditya in the South,' JRAS, 1926, pp. 487 ff.

(186) Ray, 'Harsa - Śilāditya : a revised study,' IHQ, vol.III, pp. 769 ff.

(187) Supra, n. 183.; Infra, n. 197.

(188) Ibid.

(189) Supra, ns. 184, 185 and 186.

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(190) Supra, n. 186.

(191) Supra, n. 185.

192. Ibid.

(193) Watters, op. cit.; vol.I, pp. 343 -44.

(194) Ibid., vol. II, p. 239.

(195) Ibid, p. 336.

(196) Gopalan, op. cit., pp. 97 ff.

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(197) Saletore, B. A., ' Harshavardhana in the Karnāṭaka,'
QJMS, vol. XXII, pp. 169-184,;
pp. 302 - 17.

Dr. B. A. Saletore's provisional suggestion that Mahendra of the Viragal may be one of the kings of the same name of the Nolamba - Pallava family, which later held power in the district of Bellary could easily be given up. For, the scholar himself confesses the chronological difficulties confronting his suggestion. None of the Nolamba-Pallava records cited by this scholar is earlier than the second half of the 8th century, while the Chālukya epigraphs, from the seventh century till the end of their rule in the middle of the 8th century clearly prove that the district of Bellary was under the Chālukya supremacy, and therefore, the question of any Nolamba-Pallava king ascending the throne in this region during the seventh century, does not arise at all.

(198) Virji, op. cit., pp. 134 ff.

(199) Majumdar, 'Extent of Harshavardhana's Empire,'
IHQ, vol. V, pp. 235 ff.

(200) Sircar, 'Mudgapadra Grant of Yuvarāja Śilāditya,'
EI, vol. XXXIV, pp. 117 ff.

(201) Bhagwanlal Indraji, ' A New Copper-plate grant of Chālukya Dynasty, found at Navasārī,' JBBRAS,
vol. XVI, pp. 1 ff.;

Hultzsch, ' Navasārī Plates of Yuvarāja Śrayaśraya Śilāditya,

EI, vol. VIII, pp. 229-34.;
Mirashi, op. et loc. cit., No.27.

(202) Ibid, No. 29.

(203) Infra, Ch. VIII.

(204) Infra, Ch. IX.

(205) Supra, n. 199.

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(206) Supra, n. 198.

(207) I owe this clarification to Dr. R. N. Saletore

(208) Supra, n. 198.

(209) Supra, n. 200, 201 and 202.

(210) Supra, n. 200.

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(211) Supra, ns. 200, 201 and 202.

(212) Supra, n. 198.

(213) Fleet, 'Aliṇā Copper-plate Inscription of Śilāditya VII; the year 447; CII, vol. III, pp. 171 ff.

(214) Supra, n. 198.

(215) Virji, op. cit., p.20.

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(216) Supra, n. 213.

(217) Acharya, HIG, No. 66.;
Virji, op. cit., p. 76.

(218) Supra, n. 176.

(219) Supra, n. 183.

(220) Sathianathaier, ' Dynasties of South India,' CA, pp. 255 ff.

(221) Supra, ns. 200, 201 and 202.

(222) Supra, n. 220.

(223) Supra, n. 147.

(224) Sastri, Krishna, ' Velurpālaiyam Plates of Vijaya Nandivarman (II)' SII, vol. II, pt. V, pp.501-17.

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(225) Supra, n. 183.

(226) Supra, pp. 138 -141.

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(227) Supra, n. 220.

(228) Supra, n. 147.

(229) Supra, pp. 137 -38 & 141.

(230) The fact that Pulakeśin II was defeated at Manimangala, a place at a distance of 20 miles from the Pallava capital (Gopalan, op. cit., p. 97.) would show that Pulakeśin's objective was to besiege and conquer Kāñchipuram.

(231) Gopalan, op. cit., p. 97.

(232) Supra, n. 147.

(233) Ibid.

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(234) EC, vol. X, pp. 222 ff.

Rice, ' Two New Chālukya Grants,' IA, vol. VIII, pp. 96 ff.;

(235) Supra, n. 147.

(236) Ibid.

(237) Ibid.

(238) SII, vol. IX, pt. I, p. 1 ff.

(239) Heras, ' The Victory of Bhūti - Vikramakesari over the Pallavas,' JRAS, 1934, pp. 33-44.;

Venkataramanayya, N., The Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi, p. 62.

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(240) In the Karnūl Grant (Fleet, JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 225 ff) issued during his third regnal year Vikramāditya I, the son and successor of Pulakeśin II, claims to have gained for himself the regnal fortune of his father which had been concealed by 'three kings,' referred to in the inscription by the term 'Avanipatitṛitaya'. He also claims to have restored the grants to gods (temples) and Brāhmaṇas which were disturbed by 'those three kings' referred to by the term, 'tasmin rājyatraye.'

In his article entitled ' The Expression Avanipatitṛitaya and Trairājya in Early Chalukya Inscriptions,' Dr. G. C. Raychaudhari critically examines the views of Fleet, N. Venkataramanayya, Somasekhar Sarma, Nilakanta Sastri, R. S. Panchamukhi and other scholars on this topic and suggests that the three kings referred to by the term Avanipatitṛitaya, who were responsible for the interruption of Pulakeśin II were the Chola, Pāṇḍya and Chera kings (PIHC, vol. XIV, pp. 65 -68). But the suggestion of Dr. G. C. Raychaudhari leaves out the Pallavas, who obviously were the major political power in this triple alliance against the Chālukyas.

Writing on the subject in 1934, Rev. Father Heras thought that the 'three kings' responsible for the interruption of the Chālukya sovereignty were Narasiṁhavarman I, the Ceylonese king Mānavarman and Kodambūr Chief Paradurgamardana ('The victory of Bhūti-Vikramakesari over the Pallavas,' JRAS, 1934, pp. 33-44).

True, we are told in the Mahāvaṅśa (Ch. 47.), that the Ceylonese king Mānavarman took part in the Pallava fight against the Chālukyas, but as he himself had come seeking refuge at the Pallava court, the extent and nature of the assistance rendered by Mānavarman to Narasiṁhavarman I remains uncertain.

About the Kodambalūr chief Paradurgamardana we have an evidence in the lithic record of his grandson Bhūti-Vikramakesari (Sastri, Nilakanta, ' The Kodumbalūr Inscription of Vikrama-Kesari,' JOR. vol. VII, pp. 1 ff.) It is an undated inscription and is ascribed to the tenth century on palaeographical grounds.

This would place Paradurgamardana, who is credited with the destruction of Vātāpi and his son Samarābhirāma, who killed the Chālukya in the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala in the middle of the ninth century, when the Bādāmi Chālukyas had ceased to rule.

Again, the destruction of Vātāpi, to be considered an achievement by Paradurgamardana's successors, must have been accomplished when Vātāpi was at its highest, i.e. during the rule of the early Chālukyas (A. D. 530 - A. D. 765). It may, however, be noted that the Kodambalūr chiefs by themselves were not in a position to invade the great Chālukya power. They must have therefore, fought under or with some other power, presumably with their powerful northern neighbour the Pallavas, when

Paradurgamardana may have taken part in the destruction of Vātāpi. Now, the Pallavas twice claim to have destroyed Vātāpi, once under Narasiṁhavarman I during the reign of Pulakeśin II and on the second occasion during the kingship of Parameśvaravarman I, when Vikramāditya I was the king at Vātāpi. If we suppose that Paradurgamardana accompanied the Pallava army on the second occasion then the slaying of the Chālukya in the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala by his son Samarabhirama remains unexplainable. On the other hand, if we suppose that Paradurgamardana and Samarābhirama fought on the first occasion then the question arises - who was the Chālukya killed in the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala? He could not have been Pulakeśin II as Father Heras would have us believe, for the simple reason that the death of Pulakesin II at the hands of anybody in the Pallava army could just not go unmentioned by the Pallava eulogists. But this is not the end of the problem. More problematic than the uncertainty about the identification of the Chālukya killed by Samarābhirāma, is the period, i.e. the middle of the ninth century, to which Paradurgamardana and his son are ascribed. Due to the absence of conclusive evidence obscurity continues to hang over the issue of Paradurgamardana's alliance with Narasiṁhavarman.

Now, the Chālukya epigraphs do point to the practice of grouping the kings of Cholas, Pāṇḍya and Chera into a triad, but the practice seems to have nothing to do with the term Avanipatitritaya occuring in the epigraphs of Vikramāditya I. It appears that the Pallavas were joined by the Cholas and Pāṇḍyas, as the territories of the Cheras was far removed from the Pallava kingdom.

(241) Hultzsch, ' Gadwāl Plates of Vikramāditya I, A. D. 674,' EI, vol X, pp. 100 ff.;

Khare, 'Sāvanūr Plates of Chalukya Vikramāditya I, Śaka 597,' EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 115 - 119.

(242) Mahāvaṅśa, Ch. 47.;

Hultzsch, 'Contributions to Singhalese Chronology,' JRAS, 1913, pp. 517 ff.;

Sircar, 'Ceylon,' CA, pp. 284 ff.;

Codrington, A short History of Ceylon, pp. 35 - 36.

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(243) Mahāvaṅśa, Ch. 47.

(244) Ibid.

(245) Ibid.

(246) Ibid.

(247) Hultzsch, art. et loc. cit.;
Sircar, art. et loc. cit.;

(248) Ibid.

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(249) The absence of reference to the paramount line in the Kairā Grant of Vijayarāja inscribed in A. D. 643 (Supra, n. 124.) led Dr. Fleet to believe that the reign of Pulakeśin must have come to an end before the issue of the inscription under consideration. This argument of Dr. Fleet, however, no more holds water, for the Sendrakas, Gurjaras and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Achalapura, who undoubtedly were the feudatories of the Bādāmi house do not refer to the paramount line in their records.

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(250) Venkataramanayya, N. op. et loc. cit. P. 58.;
Sircar, ' The Chālukyas,' CA, P. 250.

(251) Fleet, 'Sātārā Copper plate Grant of Vishṇuvardhana I,'
IA, vol. XIX, pp. 304 ff.

(252) Fleet, 'Chipurapalle Copper Plate Grant of Vishṇuvardhana I, dated in his eighteenth Year,'
IA, vol. XX, pp. 15 ff.

(253) Sewell, Eclipses of the Moon in India, pp. XI - XIII.

(254) Sarma Somasekhara, ' Three Grants of Chālukya Jayasiṁha,'
EI, vol. XXXI, pp. 129 ff.

(255) Ibid.

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(256) Pillai, S. K., Indian Ephemeris, vol. I pt. I, pp. 336 - 355.;
Sewell, op. et loc. cit., p. XII.

(257) Supra, n. 252.

The same reasoning may be applied to the date of earlier Chipurupalli plates of Vishṇuvardhana. If we accept A. D. 632 as the date of this grant we get A. D. 614 as an year when he was placed in charge of the Eastern Territories of the Chālukyas. This contradicts a well-known event of his career viz., that in A. D. 616 - 17 he was acting as his brother's viceroy at Sātārā; a circumstance which would break the continuous period of eighteen years' rule over the Eastern territories assigned to him by the records.

If we take the next date namely A. D. 650 as the date of this grant and therefore the last year of Vishṇuvardhana and the first year of Jayasiṁha, we would not get a lunar-eclipse in the month of Phālguna in A. D. 668, which would then correspond to the 18th year of Jayasiṁha.

We shall be confronted with the same difficulty if in like manner we accept A. D. 651 as the date of the grant and therefore the last year of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana and the 1st year of Jayasiṁha's reign.

(258) Venkataramanayya, op. et loc. cit., pp. 41 - 56.

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(259) Supra, n. 254.

(260) Supra, n. 253.

(261) Supra, n. 130

(262) Ibid.

(263) Hultzsch, 'Timmapuram Plates of Vishṇuvardhana I, Vishamasiddhi,' EI, vol. IX, pp. 317 ff.

(264) Supra, n. 252.

(265) Supra, n. 130.

(266) Supra, n. 252.

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(267) Venkataramanayya, op. cit., pp. 56 - 76.

(268) Ibid, pp. 69 - 70.

(269) Ibid, p. 68.

(270) Ibid, p. 70.

(271) Ibid, p. 74.

(272) Ibid, p. 69.

(273) Ibid, p. 68.

(274) Ibid.

(275) Ibid, pp. 77 ff.

(276) Altekar, ' The History of the Rāshṭrakūṭas,' EHOD, p. 253.

(277) Ibid, p. 258.

(278) Apte, D. V., 'राष्ट्रकूटांचा शके ६८० मधील ताम्रपट'
BISMQ, vol. VIII, pt. III, pp. 165 - 173.

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(279) Sykes, P., ' History of Persia,' vol. I, pp. 478 ff.;

Malcolm, 'History of Persia' vol. I, pp. 156 ff.

It may here be observed that neither of these two historians refer to the embassy sent by an Indian king to the court of Khusru II.

(280) de Goeje, Tarikh-i- Tabari, pp. 1052 - 53.;

Zotenberg, Chronique de Tabari, vol. II, pp.339 ff.;

Mitra Rajendra, ' On the Age of the Ajanta Caves,'
JRAS 1880, pp. 126 - 151.;

Ghosh, 'Indian Embassy to Khusru II of Persia,'
JBORS, vol. XXX, pp. 184 - 190.

(281) Ibid.

(282) Ibid.

(283) Fergusson, ' On the Identification of the Portrait of Chrosroes II among the Paintings in the caves at Ajantā,'
JRAS, 1879, pp. 155 ff.

Page : 166.

(284) Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber Zur Zeit der, p. 371.

(285) Von Gutschmidt, ' Bemerkungen zu Tabari's Sasanidengeschichte,'
ZDMG, vol. XXXIV, pp. 746 ff.

(286) Majumdar, ' Pulakesi and Khusru II,'
JIH, vol. IV, pp. 29- 34.

(287) Bāṇa, Harshacharita, p. 50.

(288) Bühler, ' ' Banskhera Plates of Harsha, the year 22,'
EI, vol. IV, pp. 210 ff.;

Kielhorn, 'Madhuban Plates of Harṣa,'
EI, vol. VII, pp. 157 ff.

Bāṇa no doubt refers to Harsha as Parameśvara. But in one of these two cases the word has a double entendre (the comparison being with Śiva) used along with similar words (e.g. Purushottam = Vishnu); while in the second case it is only one of the pompous titles attributed to Harsha and has little bearing on actual facts.

(289) Supra, n. 193.

(290) Supra, n. 178.

(291) Supra, ns. 1, 3, 64, 74 and 130.

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(292) Ibid.

(293) Supra, n. 171.

(294) Supra, n. 280.

(295) Ibid.

(296) Supra, n. 283.

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(297) Ibid.; There is no allusion to a return embassy in the account of Tabari. On the contrary it says that the Indian Ambassador brought a letter marked 'Private', in which the writer of the note (Pulakesin II) congratulated one of the sons of Khusru II on the near prospect of his supplanting his father and becoming ' the ruler of the whole empire'. It would be natural to suppose that Khusru II, under the circumstances would never think of sending a complimentary embassy to a foreign ruler who secretly suggested his dethronement.

(298) Yazdani, Ajantā. vol. I, plate XXXVIII.; vol I (text), pp. 46 - 50.

(299) Supra, n. 283.

(300) Brown, Percy, Indian Architecture. p.66.

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(301) Watters, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 239 ff.; p. 336.

(302) Ibid.

(303) Fleet, 'Hiuen Tsang's capital of Mahārāshṭra,' IA, vol. XXII, pp. 113 ff.

(304) Ibid.;

Watters, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 337 - 338.

(305) Ibid.

(306) Supra, n. 301.

(307) Supra, n. 303.

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(308) Panchamukhi, ' The Historical Remains of Paṭṭadakal,' Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province, From 1941 to 1946, pp. 52 - 62.

(309) Supra, n. 303.

(310) Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, In the early days of historical research Cunningham mistook Kalyāṇa, situated near Bombay for Kalyaṇī, the capital city of the Later Chāḷukyas.

(311) Supra, n. 303.

(312) Burgess, ' Kong-kin-na-pu-lo,' IA, vol. XXIII, p. 28.

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(313) Sircar, ' The Chālukyas', CA, p. 239, n.2.

(314) Ibid.

(315) BG, vol. XVI, Map facing page 1 and pp. 7 ff.; Watters, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 239 ff.

(316) Imperial Gazeteer, No. XXVI, pl. 42.

(317) BG, vol. XVI, pp. 541 ff.

(318) Supra, n. 315.

(319) Ibid.

(320) BG, vol. XVI, pp. 539.

(321) Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nāsik,' EI, vol. VIII, pp. 59-80.

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(322) Mirashi, op. et loc. cit., p. lix.ff.

(323) Supra, n. 315.

(324) Supra n. 3.;

Sivaramamurti, Epigraphical Echoes of Kālidāsa, pp. 16 - 24.

Page : 173.

(325) Fleet, ' Yekkeri inscription of the time of Pulikeśin II,' EI, vol. V, pp. 6- 9.

(326) Ibid.

(327) Supra, n. 74.

(328) Kane, art. cit.

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(329) Khare, ' Lohaner Grant of Chālukya Pulikeśin II: Śaka 552,' EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 37 - 41.

(330) Supra, n. 325.

(331) Supra, n. 329.

(332) Supra n. 3.

(333) Supra, ns. 1, 64, 130 and 329.

(334) Supra, n. 3.

(335) Fleet, ' Nerūr Plates of Polikeśi II,' IA, vol. VIII, pp. 43.- 44.

(336) Hultzsch, ' Udayendiram Plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla,' SII, vol. II, p. 365.

(337) Fleet, DKD, p. 351.

(338) Supra, n. 1.

(339) Supra, n. 337.

(340) Supra, n. 1.

(341) Ibid.

(342) Ramesan, ' Tummeyanūru Plates of Pulakesin II,' APGAS, No.6, pp. 40 ff.

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(343) Supra, ns. 1, 3, 64, 74, 130 and 342.

(344) Supra, n. 83.

(345) Supra, ns. 64 and 342.

(346) Supra, n. 335.

(347) Supra, n. 325 and 329.

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CHAPTER VII

INTERREGNUM.

In the last chapter we have tried to show that the death of the great Pulakeśin II must have occurred sometime in A. D. 648.[1] We know from the records of Pulakeśin's son Vikramāditya I that he commenced his reign in A.D. 654- 55.[2] These records, however, are silent as to what happened during the interregnum. The Kauthem grant (A. D. 1009) of Vikramāditya V[3] of the Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇi fills this interval with the reigns of Neḍamari and Ādityavarman. But curiously enough while it describes the former as the son and successor of Pulakeśin II, it makes the latter a grandson of Pulakeśin, being the son and successor of Neḍamari.[4] Further, Vikramāditya I is represented as the son and successor of Ādityavarman, and therefore as the great-grandson of Pulakeśin II.[5] It is not surprising that after a lapse of three and half centuries, there should have been a misunderstanding as to the exact relationship of these rulers. The record, however, would seem to give the order of succession correctly from Pulakeśin II

to Vikramāditya I. For we know from the Honnūr record[6] of this latter that he had an elder brother named Raṇarāgavarman, while in his Karnūl charter[7] Ādityavarman describes himself as a son of Pulakeśin II and assumes the full regal style of Pṛithvīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja. It would follow from this that after the death of Pulakeśin II Raṇarāgavarman succeeded to the Chālukya empire as a matter of right, but died soon after without being able to stay the disintegration of the empire, resulting from the disaster that had overtaken Pulakeśin II during the last days of his rule. We may identify him with Nedamari of Kauthem grant, who is given the conventional praise that he ' made the circuit of the regions free from tumult; who caused distress to his enemies; whose great fame was sung by the lovely women of the gods.'[8]

The Kanūl[9] grant issued during the first regnal year of Ādityavarman referring to his achievements says that he possessed ' the supreme rule over the whole circuit of earth, which had been overcome by the strength of his own arm and prowess.' It may be inferred from this that Ādityavarman made an effort to salvage whatever he could of the fast

disintegrating Chālukya empire. But it would appear that his efforts were cut short by death, which must have occurred shortly before A.D.654-55.

Ādityavarman was succeeded by his son Abhinavāditya who in his Nelkunda grant[10] bears the imperial titles of Mahārājādhirāja and Pṛithvīvallabha, a style to which none but an independent ruler was entitled.[11] We, however, hear nothing about Abhinavāditya after his Nelkunda charter, and hence it may be presumed that he either made way for Vikramāditya I or was put down by force. The latter seems more probable since we are told in the spurious Karnūl charter[12] of Vikramāditya I that he had to conquer his 'relatives to regain the regal fortune of his father, which was interrupted by three kings.'

A review of political situation in Gujarāt is necessary at this stage in order to understand the assumption of power on the part of Vikramāditya I in A. D. 654- 55.

The pre-occupation of the Chālukyas with the Pallavas towards the end of Pulakeśin's reign was availed of by the contemporary Maitraka ruler Dharasena IV (A. D. 641 - 650) to aggrandize

himself at their expense. The Maitrakas not only overran the principality of the Gurjara feudatories of the Chālukyas but occupied the important city of Broach and in A. D. 649 Dharasena IV issued two charters[13] from what he calls his victorious camp at Broach.

The Chālukya administration seems to have been intact in Gujarāt during this period, for we find the Chālukya Vijayarāja,[14] who was probably in charge of the Chālukya viceroyalty of Gujarāt, making in A. D. 643, a donation of a village located in the present Surat district.[15] But we have no means of knowing whether Vijayarāja joined forces with the contemporary Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa[16] in opposing the advance of the Maitrakas.

The Maitrakas, however, were soon brought to book probably by Vikramāditya, an achievement which went to partly substantiate his claim[17] that 'he conquered the hostile kings in country after country.'[18] Dhruvasena III who succeeded Dharasena IV in A. D. 650, could not continue the grandiloquent titles such as Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Chakravartin borne by the latter a year before in A. D. 649[19] and had to rest content

with the old religious title of the Maitraka family - Paramamāheśvara.[20] Dhruvasena III's inscription issued in A. D. 653 referring to his victorious camp at Sirisimminikā seems to point to the continuance of a struggle with hostile power, which could have been none other than the Chālukyas.[21] Besides, the very fact that this place of encampment is to be located near Kapadavanja at a distance of more than hundred miles north of Broach shows that the Maitraka forces were retreating towards their own kingdom.[22]

To secure the Chālukya possessions in Gujarāt from any further aggression on the part of the Maitrakas Vikramāditya seems to have appointed Sendraka Allaśakti transferring him from his post in Western Khandesh, where we find him making a grant of land in A. D. 653.[23] His first task was to pursue the fleeing forces of the Maitrakas, in the course of which pursuit he fixed his camp in A. D. 655 at a place near present Dabhoi, 20 miles south east of Baroda.[24] The Bagumra charter, another record of Allaśakti, issued in the same year, i.e. A. D. 655 registers a donation of land in the present Surat district.[25]

We may refer here in passing to an attempt[26] made by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya to reconstruct the history of the Chālukyas during the interval following the end of the reign of Pulakeśin II, which according to him took place sometime before A. D. 643. He suggested that Chandrāditya, an elder brother of Vikramāditya I, reigned during this interval of thirteen years, and that on his death in about A.D.654, the succession to the Chālukya throne was contested by the two brothers Ādityavarman and Vikramāditya I, in which the former sought the Pallava alliance, while the latter was assisted by his Gaṅga grandfather Durvinīta.[27] On his victorious emergence from this struggle Vikramāditya crowned himself king and allowed Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the dowager queen of Chandrāditya,[28] to govern the territories around present Nerūr, as she actually appears to have done from her Kochrem[29] and Nerūr charters,[30] of which the latter is dated in A. D. 659.[31]

We regret that the theory is untenable in the light of the reconstruction of the history of the Chālukyas which we have attempted. To begin with there is not even a ~~scratch~~ of evidence to suggest that Vijayabhaṭṭārikā was a widow and that Chandrāditya

had died before A. D. 654. Actually he was very much alive when the Nerūr and Kochrem grants issued by his queen were inscribed.[32] Besides, in a lithic record discovered in the Mahaboobnagar district of the Andhra Pradesh, inscribed during the reign of Vikramāditya I, Yuvarāja Vinayāditya is mentioned along with a certain Chandrāditya Bhaṭṭārar.[33] The title Bhaṭṭārar is a Kanarese equivalent for the Sanskrit Bhaṭṭāraka 'the venerable one,' and indicative of respect.[34] It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that this Chandrāditya to whose name the epithet is attached was none other than Chandrāditya, the elder brother of Vikramāditya I.

The plausible explanation for the fact that Chandrāditya, although an elder brother of Vikramāditya I, did not succeed to the Chālukya sovereignty may be that he willingly yielded his claim to his more capable younger brother Vikramāditya as he felt that he had not the qualities which the critical times demanded of the ruler. Had he ever contested his right to the Vātāpi-throne with Vikramāditya I, the relations between the two brothers would not have been amicable, as may be inferred from both the grants[35] of Chandrāditya's wife, where Vikramāditya

is not only described as ' the unrepulsed one, who had conquered the hostile kings in country after country and had acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors,' but is also mentioned before his elder brother Chandrāditya.

It is entirely gratuitous to assume that Ādityavarman[36] who in his Karnūl grant has been described as ' possessing the supreme rule over the whole circuit of earth, which had been overcome by the strength of his own arm and his prowess ' ever sought the assistance from any outside power least of all the Pallavas. In point of fact Ādityavarman actually preceded Vikramāditya[37] on the throne during the interregnum.

Lastly, Maṅgaleśa and not Vikramāditya I was the daughter's son of Gaṅga-Durvinīta[38] and the term Gaṅga-Mahādevī[39] occuring in the Gadvāl plates (A.D.674) of Vikramāditya I refers to the latter's queen from the Gaṅga family and not to his mother as Dr. Venkataramanayya would have us believe.[40] Presuming that Vikramāditya I assumed the regal responsibility at the age of twenty in A. D. 654 - 55, we arrive at A. D. 635, as the year of his birth. Now to have a

son in A. D. 635, Vikramāditya's mother herself should have been born in about A. D. 615, which would make her nearly sixty years old in A, D, 674, which corresponds to the twentieth regnal year of Vikramāditya I when he issued the Gadvāl charter[41] at the request of Gaṅga-Mahādevī. Though not impossible, it is unlikely that a lady of this age accompanied a military expedition covering the long and hazardous march from Bādāmi to Kāñchī.

This consideration apart had the writer intended to refer to the queen-mother, he would have employed the term rājamātā and not mahādevī. An illustration is provided by Vijayāditya's Bādāmi record[42] (A. D. 697) where his mother Vinayavatī is referred to as ' rājamātā Vinayavatī.' Further the Māruṭūru grant of Pulakeśin II describes his Kadamba queen as ' agrama-mahādevī '[43] and in the Paṭṭadakal inscription[44] Lokamahādevī, the queen-consort of Vikramāditya II, is styled mahādevī -- a circumstance which goes to show that it was the established custom during the Chālukya period to designate the queen of a sovereign as mahādevī.

N O T E S.

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(1) Supra, p. 160.

(2) Fleet, DKD, p. 366.

(3) Fleet, ' Kauthem Plates of Vikramāditya V, Śaka - Saṁvat 930,' IA, vol. XVI, pp. 17 ff.

(4) Ibid,

(5) Ibid.

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(6) ASMAR, 1939, pp. 129 - 137.

(7) Fleet, ' Karnūl Plates of the first Year of Ādityavarman,' JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 223 - 224, 233 - 235.

(8) Supra, n. 3.

(9) Supra, n. 7.

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(10) Desai, ' Nelkunda grant of Abhinavāditya,' EI, vol. XXXII, pp. 213 - 216.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Fleet, ' Karnūl grant of Vikramāditya I,' JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 229-31, 240 - 42.

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(13) Bühler, ' Valabhī Inscriptions,' IA, vol. XV, pp. 335 ff.;

Acharya, HIG, Nos. 72, 73.

(14) Supra, pp. 136 - 137.

(15) Fleet, ' The Khedā Grant of Vijayarāja,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 243 - 53.;

Acharya, HIG, No.102.

(16) Mirashi, CII, vol. IV, pt. I, p. cxc.

(17) Supra, n. 12.

(18) Virji, op. cit., 81.

(19) Bühler, art. et loc. cit.

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(20) Virji, op. cit., 81.

(21) Hultzsch, ' A Valabhī Grant of Dhruvasena III; Samvat : 334,' EI, vol. I, pp. 85 ff.;

Acharya, HIG, No.74.

(22) Virji, op. cit., p. 309.

(23) Mirashi, ' Kasare Plates of Allaśakti: (Kalachuri) Year 404,' op. et loc. cit., pp. 110- 116.;

Khare, ' Kasare Plates of Allaśakti,' SMHD, vol. II, pp. 66 ff.

(24) Khare, ' Two Sendraka Grants,' EI, vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff.

(25) Bühler, ' Bagumra Grant of Nikumbhallāśakti,' IA, vol. XVIII, pp. 268 - 270.;

Mirashi, ' Bagumra Plates of Allaśakti: (Kalachuri) Year 406,' op. cit., pp. 117 - 122.

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(26) Venkantaramanayya, N., ' Interregnum in the History of Chālukyas of Bādāmi,' PTOC, vol. XII, pp. 534 - 41.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Fleet, ' Kochrem grant of Vijayamahādevī,' IA, vol. VIII, pp. 44 ff.

(30) Fleet, ' W. Chalukya Grant of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 163 ff.

(31) Ibid.;

Fleet, DKD, p. 365, note 3.

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(32) Supra, ns. 29 and 30.

(33) ARIE, 1955 - 56, App. B., No.212, p.38.

(34) Ibid.;

Fleet, DKD, p. 352, 370, 371.

(35) Supra, ns. 29, 30.

Page : 215.

(36) Supra, n. 7.

(37) Supra, pp. 208 - 210.

(38) Venkataramanayya, ' Durvinīta and Vikramāditya' Triveni, vol. I, pp. 112 - 120.;

Chitalia, ' Durvinīta and the restoration of the Chālukyas,' JASBB, vols. XXXIV - XXXV, pp. 132 - 137.

(39) Hultzsch, ' Gadvāl Plates of Vikramāditya I, A. D. 674,' EI, vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

(40) Supra, n. 38.

Page : 216.

(41) Supra, n. 39.

(42) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, pp. 3 - 4.

(43) Ramesan, ' The Mārutūru grant of Pulakeśin II,' APGAS, vol. VI, pp. 11- 40.

(44) Fleet, ' Paṭṭadakal Pillar inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. III, pp. 1- 7.

CHAPTER VIII

VIKRAMĀDITYA I

The reign of Vikramāditya, [1] ' the dear son ' of Pulakeśin II, witnessed the eventual reinstatement of the supremacy of the Chālukyas. This monarch was also known by the other name Kokkuli. [2] Besides the full regal style of Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara he bore the epithets of Satyāśraya, Anivārita and Bhaṭṭāraka. [3] We are told that he assumed the title of Rājamalla ' wrestler with kings ' [4] to mark his triumph over the family of Mahāmalla ' the great wrestler,' the house of the Pallavas, while the title Raṇarasika ' war lust ' is a tribute to his pugnacious spirit. [5]

From the Amudālapādu plates [6] which were issued during his fifth regnal year on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha and the Talamanchi plates [7] issued during the following year on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred in the month of Śrāvaṇa of Ś. S. 582, it is evident that Vikramāditya ascended the throne sometime between the 30th April and the thirteenth July 655. [8] For the English date of the

former corresponds to thirtieth July 660,[9] and that of the latter plates corresponds to thirteenth July 660.[10] The last known date of Vikramāditya's reign is furnished by a lithic record[11] at Dimmagudi in the Gooty taluka of the Anantapur district. This epigraph registers a grant of land made during the twenty-seventh regnal year of Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Pṛithivīvallabha who could only be identified with Vikramāditya I, for the reason that the second Chālukya king of the same name had a brief reign of eleven years.[12] The majority of the records of his son and successor Vinayāditya[13] give A. D. 681 - 82 as the initial year of his reign - a fact which proves conclusively that Vikramāditya presided over the destinies of the Chālukyas for a little more than a quarter of a century.

In a recent paper read before the Indian History congress[14] an attempt has been made by Dr. Mahalingam to show that Ādityavarman who describes himself as a son of Pulakeśin II in his Karnūl plates[15] and Vikramāditya were one and the same person on the ground that Ādityavarman bears the same titles in his Karnūl plates as are borne by Vikramāditya I in the Gadavāl plates.[16]

Sva-bhuja-bala parākramākkrānta sakala - mahimaṇḍalādhirājyaḥ śrīmad Āditya-varman Pṛithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvaraḥ sarvāan ājñāpayati.
(Karnūl plates of Ādityavarman)[17]

Sa Vikkramākkrānta sakala mahimaṇḍaladhirājyaḥ Vikramāditya satyāśraya srī pṛithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvarah sarvāan evamājñāpayati.
(Gadavāl plates of Vikramāditya)[18]

Dr. Mahalingam goes on to remark that Āditya was the original name of Vikramāditya and that the latter name was a title he assumed.[19]

It may be remarked at the outset that the description of the monarchs identical though it be in the two records is of a conventional nature. There is sufficient evidence of employment of such descriptions in the records of the period.[20] Then again if Āditya was the original name and Vikramāditya merely a title, the ruler concerned would have called himself Āditya Vikramāditya or Vikramāditya Āditya in confirmity with the established practice as in Chandragupta Vikramāditya and Samudragupta Vikramāṅka.[21] Further in his Nelkunda plates of about the same date[22] as the Karnūl plates, the Chālukya prince Abhinavāditya describes himself as a son of Ādityavarman, who was a son of Pulakeśin II. The fact that this Ādityavarman was different from Vikramāditya is evident from the

fact that Abhinavāditya is not reckoned among this latter's children. Lastly the Kauthem plates of A. D. 1009[23] although they are mistaken in representing Vikramāditya as the son of Ādityavarman point to the fact that they were two different individuals.

Turning to the political history of the region we find that Vikramāditya continued the policy of hostility towards the Pallavas. It may be inferred from the Gadval grant[24] that Vikramāditya measured his strength against the three successive Pallava rulers[25], Narasimhavarman I (A. D. 630 - 668), Mahendra II (A. D. 668 - 70) and Parameśvaravarman I (A. D. 670 - 695). The documents referring to the uninterrupted hostility are several and come from both the sides. But inspite of the information imparted by these sources, the course of the Chālukya-Pallava conflict during the period, can be followed only in a general way and a fact has to be constantly borne in mind that success did not uniformly attend either of the two contestants.

Vikramāditya's success against Narasimhavarman I, of which we get no details, was

certainly a part of the early struggles which preceded his accession to the throne and possibly continued for a few years thereafter. The Chōlas of Renāṇḍu had associated themselves with Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I in the confederacy against the Chālukyas.[26] Naturally enough, their country comprising parts of the present Karnūl and Cuddapah districts along with almost the entire district of Nellore, situated to the east of it, which had been annexed to the Chālukya empire by Pulakeśin II slipped from the Chālukya grip during the troubled times which followed the end of Pulakeśin's reign.

Vikramāditya, however, soon retrieved these areas. We are able to conclude this with the evidence furnished by the lithic record at Tippalūru[27] in the Kamalapuram taluka of the Cuddapah district. The inscription registers a grant of land in a village located in the Jammalamaḍugu taluka of the same district during the first regnal year of Vikramāditya, when Pormukhrāma was governing the territory as far as the limits of the Pennā on behalf of a Bāṇarāja. Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Pṛithivīvallabha of this record is to be identified with Vikramāditya I,[28] while Pormukhrāma was doubtless

identical with the Chola Puṇyakumāra of the Mālepadu plates.[29] The Tippalūru[30] inscription is of great historical significance. For one thing, the fact that gift of land was made in the Cuddapah district would show that Vikramāditya I re-established the Chālukya sway over this district in the very first year of his reign. For another, the fact that Pormukhrāma was governing on behalf of a Bāṇarāja would show that the Cholas were now placed in a subordinate position under the tutelage of the Bāṇas, the loyal feudatories of the Chālukyas. The restoration of the Chālukya prestige in this region by Vikramāditya is also borne out by an undated hero-stone inscription of his reign at Annavaram[31] in the Darsi division of the Nellore district. The viragal refers to a Kāḍuveṭṭi, obviously a Pallava ruler, as having disturbed an earlier donation and commemorates the erection of a sculpture of the hero Annuvaya, who apparently fell in the fight to uphold his right to the donation. Incidently the sculptural representation[32] depicts the hero wearing an yajñopavita, the sacred thread, and holding a dagger in his hand. It is therefore plausible that the hero was a Brāhmaṇa by caste. This circumstance goes to

confirm a statement of the other Chālukya epigraphs which aver that the grants to the Gods (temples) and the Brāhmaṇas were confiscated during the troubled times and were restored by Vikramāditya I[33] on his assumption of regal responsibility. There are also a few other inscriptions of Vikramāditya, issued during the early years of his reign, which show that Vikramāditya consolidated the Chālukya power in the districts of Karnul, Cuddapah and Nellore as a preliminary to the launching of an attack on the Pallava territory. Thus, we have a lithic record issued during Vikramāditya's second regnal year at Turimella[34] in the Cumbum taluka of the Karnul district which indicates the Chālukya possession of the Eṟūva vishaya, a territorial division on the borders of the Karnul, Nellore and Cuddapah districts. A set of copper plates issued during his third regnal year and discovered at Karnul[35] records a grant of land in the Naḷavāḍi vishaya comprising the adjoining parts of the Karnul and Bellary districts. Yet another set of copper plates, issued during his sixth regnal year was discovered at Talamanchi[36] in the district of Nellore. An undated lithic record[37] in the Jammalamadugu taluka of the Cuddapah district

mentioning Śrīvallabha Mahārāja may also be assigned to the reign of Vikramāditya I.

While Vikramāditya was thus occupied with the affairs in the eastern part of his dominions, Narasiṁhavarman seems to have dispatched an army under the leadership of his son Mahendravarman II to assail the south-western portion of the Chālukya kingdom. The attempt, however, was frustrated by Vikramāditya's nephew Śrayāśraya Śilāditya who not only inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallava army but also compelled Mahendravarman II to flee from the field, as recorded in the Gaddemanne inscription,[38] noticed in the previous chapter. This incursion on the part of Mahendravarman II probably led Vikramāditya to organise a counter attack against the Pallavas. In A. D. 670, we find him in the ' large ' military camp (Mahāskandhāvāra) at a place called Malliyūr, in the Wandiwash taluka, which is at a short distance to the west of Kāñchīpuram.[39] As the name of Mahendravarman is also included among the opponents of Vikramāditya, in the accounts of the Gadval[40] and Sāvanūr[41] plates, it may well be assumed that the invasion commenced in his reign.

Mahendravarman, however, died after a short reign of two years and in A. D. 670 was succeeded by his son Parameśvaravarman I.[42] Taking advantage of the fresh succession in the enemy kingdom, the forces of Vikramāditya laid seige to the capital of Kāñchī, ' whose large rampart was insurmountable and hard to be crossed.'[43] The Gadval[44] and Śāvanūr[45] plates which supply this information do not describe how actually the moat was crossed and the walls were scaled. What we next hear is the fall of Kāñchī, when these very records[46] mention that Vikramāditya on ' defeating Iśvara Potarāja (Parameśvaravarman) seized the girdle of the southern region (the city of) Kāñchī'. The conquest was accomplished sometime before A. D. 671, for, in the Navasārī[47] plates of his nephew Śrayāśraya Śilāditya, issued during that year, a tribute is paid to Vikramāditya for his achievement in having ' overcome the family of the Pallavas by his unchecked prowess.'

After having routed the Pallavas at Kāñchī, Vikramāditya overran the entire Pallava kingdom, and in A. D. 674 we find him in the victorious camp at Uragapura,[48] situated on the southern bank of the river Kāverī, in the

territorial division of the Cholika vishaya.

Uragapura is to be identified with the present Uraiyūr,[49] located at a distance of about twelve miles from ~~Trichinopoly.~~ Tiruchirapalli.

It is worthy of note that both the Sāvanūr and the Gadvāl grants issued from Uragapura, in A.D. 674 commemorate Vikramāditya's triumph over the Pallavas,[50] in the four identical Āryā-verses. The first verse proudly asserts:[51]

मृदितनरसिंहयशसा विहतमहेन्द्रप्रतापविलयेन (।)
नयनविजितेश्वरेण प्रभुणा श्रीवल्लभेन जितम् (॥)

'Victory was obtained by lord Śrīvallabha who trampled under (his) feet the glory of Narasiṁha, who caused the dissolution of the prowess of Mahendra (and) who conquered Īśvara (Parameśvaravarman I) by his angry looks.'

There is here obviously a play upon the names of three successive Pallava monarchs,[52] Narasiṁhavarman I, Mahendravarman II and Parameśvaravarman I by conquering whom Vikramāditya I excelled the three gods whose names they bore Narasiṁha (the fourth avatāra of Vishnu), Mahendra (i.e. Indra, the king of gods) and Īśvara

53

(Śiva). The second verse boasts:

कृतपल्लवामर्दं दक्षिणदिग्युवतिमात्तकाञ्चीकः (I)
यो भृशमभिरमयन्नपि सुतरां श्रीवल्लभत्वमितः (II)

' He, who became the favourite of fortune (Śrīvallabha in a still higher degree though (at the same time) forcibly wooing the damsel southern region by seizing (her) girdle; (the city of) Kāñchī, while (he) caused to be crushed the sprouts (forming her couch) the Pallava (kings) '

54

The third verse seeking as it were to prove his claim to the titles Vikramāditya assumed says:

वहति स्वमर्थवन्तं रणरसिकः श्रीमदुरुबलस्कन्धः (I)
योराजमल्लशब्दं विहितमहामल्लकुलनाशः (II)

' He who, being fond of fighting (Raṇarasika) (and) possessing splendid powerful shoulders deservedly bears his own title of ' wrestler with kings ' (Rājamalla) (because) he has caused the destruction of the Mahāmalla family (the family of ' the great wrestler,' i.e. Narasiṁhavarman I).'

55

While the fourth and concluding verse shows that the conquest of Kāñchī was not a common feat when it says:

दुर्लंघ्यदुष्करविभेदविशालसाला दुर्गाधदुस्तरबृहत्परिखापरीता (I)
अग्राही येन जयतेश्वरपोतराजं काञ्चीव दक्षिणदिशः क्षितिपेन (क्षिति) काञ्ची (II)

> ' The king who defeating Īśvarapotarāja seized like the girdle of the southern region (the city of) Kāñchī, whose large rampart was insurmountable and hard to be breached, (and) which was surrounded by a great-moat unfathomable and hard to be crossed.'

Incidentally, both these inscriptions[56] disclose the presence of ladies in the Chālukya camp. The donation registered in the Gadvāl grant[57] was made at the request of the Gaṅga queen of Vikramāditya while the Sāvanūr plates[58] record the donation of land at the request of a certain Aṅgipoḍi, who remains unidentified.

Vikramāditya had thus humbled the Pallavas, but they were far from being crushed. Collecting his forces Parameśvaravarman I prepared himself for the final encounter with the Chālukyas. The fact that the latter had penetrated too far into the enemy country favoured the Pallavas. Parameśvaravarman I met Vikramāditya I at Peruvaḷanallūr[59] and after a hardly contested field won a decisive victory over his formidable Chālukya adversary. The Kūram grant[60] which gives graphic and elaborate account of this encounter aver, with pardonable exaggeration and pride that ' he, unaided made Vikramāditya whose army

consisted of several lakhs, take to flight covered only by a rag.' But there is little doubt that the battle was bitterly contested and the issue long hung in balance with ' the goddess of fortune,' as the record picturesquely puts it [61] ' sitting on the swing of doubt about mutual victory or defeat.' This is confirmed by the very description of the havoc caused to friend and foe alike in the battle:[62]

> ' In which the troops of furious elephants firmly impaled each other's faces with the piercing thunderbolts of their tusks; in which squadrons of horsemen were connected by their swords, that had struck each other's heads; in which there were soldiers who were noted (for their dexterity) in fighting with sword against sword, (pulling of)hair against (pulling) of hair and club against club; in which the ground was thickly smeared with saffron as the blood was mixed with the copious rutting-juice of elephants, that issued in consequence of (their)considering each other as equals (or) despising each other ; in which (both) large armies had lost and dropped arms, necks, shanks, thighbones and teeth; in which, owing to the encounter of the armies, both sides were broken urged on, put to flight and prostrated on the ground;..... in which brave soldiers were marching on the back of lines of fallen elephants, that formed a bridge over the flood of blood; in which soldiers stood motionless, if their blows did not hit each other's weak parts; which

was covered here and there with shattered banners and parasols, with fallen elephants and with dead and half dead soldiers, who had done their duty, whose strong arms (still) raised the weapon, whose lips were bitten and whose eyes were deep red with fury, in which a multitude of white chāmarṣ was waving; in which tiaras, armlets, necklaces, bracelets, and earrings were broken, crushed, and pulverized; in which the Kushmandas, Rākshasas and Piśāchas were singing intoxicated with drinking the liquor of blood; and which contained hundreds of headless trunks, that were vehemently dancing together in a fearful manner according to the beaten time.'

An echo of this event is probably preserved in the hymns of Tirumangai Āḻvār who flourished during 63
the eighth century. He speaks very highly of the warriors of Nāṅgūr (Tanjore district) for having so admirably routed a Pāṇḍyan king and a mighty king these two kings 64
of the north that had to take to their heels. The Āḻvār, however, does not mention the name of the king under whom the soldiers of Nāṅgūr must have fought and observes similar silence about the Pāṇḍya and northern king who were compelled to flee from the field. Nevertheless, to have put to rout the combined forces of these kings the warriors of Nāgūr (Tanjore) could only have fought under a powerful monarch. At the time we are speaking of

this monarch could have been none other than the Pallava ruler. On the other hand, the only north Indian power with which the Pallavas came into conflict were the Chālukyas. And during the prolonged hostilities of a century or more the Chālukyas were compelled to beat a retreat on only one other occasion, at the end of Pulakeśin' II's reign when Narasiṁhavarman defeated the Chālukyas at the battles of Maṇimangala, Periyala and Śūramara.[65] The Āḷvār, however, is surely not referring to this occasion because the Pāṇḍyas were not then allied with the Chālukyas but with the Pallavas.[66]

While he himself engaged the Chālukya forces in the south, Parameśvaravarman I with a view to create a diversion appears to have dispatched a simultaneous military expedition against Vātāpi under the leadership of the Śaiva saint Śiṟutoṇḍar.[67] This important piece of evidence is preserved in a Tamil work entitled Periyapurāṇam,[68] where we are told that Paranjoti alias Śiṟutoṇḍar led an attack on Vātāpi and returned with a vast amount of booty and laid it at the feet of the king whom he served. Although the Periyapurāṇam does not mention the name of the ruler who used the services of Śiṟutoṇḍar,

it makes it abundantly clear that the latter was a contemporary of Parameśvaravarman I. For, Śirutoṇḍar is represented as a friend of the other Śaiva saint Tirugyānasambandha,[69] who is known to have converted to Śaivism the Pāṇḍya king Arikesari Māṟavarman who ruled from A. D. 670 to 710 and who was in the early part of his life an avowed Jaina.[70] A later Pallava inscription which hails Parameśvaravarman as, ' the oppressor of the city of Raṇarasika, '[71] evidently confirms the fact mentioned in the Periyapurāṇam. It may here be recalled that Raṇarasika was an appellation of Vikramāditya I[72] and thus ' the city of Raṇarasika ' is an obvious reference to the metropolis of Vātāpi.[73]

The Chālukya epigraphs, however, observe, discreet silence regarding the expedition of Śirutoṇḍar except for what the Jeṟuri plates of[74] Vinayāditya and the Nerūr plates of Vijayāditya[75] tell is that the one pleased the mind of his father, (Vikramāditya I) by pacifying all the provinces in the realm and the other rooted out all the thorns from the body politic during his grandfather's absence on his conquering expedition of the South.

In the later family records Vikramāditya[76]

is represented as receiving the surrender of Kāñchī after defeating the Pallava king, who had put a disgrace on the spotless family of the moon (the Chālukyas), as humbling the kings of Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas and as having forced the lord of Kāñchīpura, who had never before bowed to anyone, to come and lay his head at his lotus feet. Thus Vikramāditya I is said to have become the lord of the whole earth bounded by the three oceans, indicating Peninsular India, bordered by the Bay of Bengal, Arabian sea and the Indian ocean. In some records[77] the Kalabhras are added to the list of peoples subdued by Vikramāditya I. Such pedantic statements not supported by adequate details are obviously conventional epithets on the part of the court poets not meant to be taken seriously.

Similarly, his son Vinayāditya in his Jejuri plates[78] claims to have arrested at his father's command the forces of trairājya-Pallava-pati or trairājya-Kāñchī-pati, like Kumāra arresting the army of asuras at the command of Śiva. What this magniloquence boils down to is merely that Vinayāditya took part in Vikramāditya I's southern campaign.[79] Incidentally, the term trairājya has

been explained as the kings of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas and the Cheras.

It would appear that in the sphere of administration Vikramāditya followed in the footsteps of his father Pulakeśin II, who entrusted the Chālukya possessions in the east to his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana.[80] Likewise Vikramāditya I placed his younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha in charge of the Chālukya territory in the North comprising the district of Nasik, Southern Gujarat and North Konkan.[81] Clearly, this part of the empire had to be placed, in safer and stronger hands if Vikramāditya's attention were not to be distracted from the all important task of eliminating the Pallava peril. Hence he made it over to the charge of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman. Accordingly we are told in the Navasārī plates of[82] the latter's son Śrayāśraya Śilāditya, dated K. 421 (A. D. 670 - 71) that the prosperity of Jayasiṁha ' was augmented by his elder brother Vikramāditya,' while in the Nasik charter,[83] his only known record issued in K. 436 corresponding to A. D. 685, Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman is described as mediating on the feet of ' the illustrious Anivārita,' who is none other than the

Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya I.[84] This inscription of Jayasiṁhavarman was discovered at Nasik and registers the grant of the village Dhondaka in the Nāsikya-vishaya represented by modern Dhondagaon and Nasik respectively - circumstances which suggest[85] that in all probability Nasik was the headquarters of this chiefdom of Jayasiṁhavarman.[86] That he executed the administrative responsibility with the assistance of his two sons Śrayāśraya Śilāditya and Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa is amply borne out by the epigraphic evidence.[87] Incidentally, as will presently be seen both the princes appear to have been invested with power to make grants of land in their own names.

In the southern Gujarat Śrayāśraya Śilāditya replaced the Sendrakas, who were now confined to their old fief in the West Khandesh. Within thirteen years of the issue of the Bagumara[88] grant of Sendraka Allaśakti in A. D. 655, which records a grant of land in the Surat district, we find Śrayāśraya Śilāditya issuing his recently discovered Mudgapadra charter[89] from Nausārikā, present Navasari, in A. D. 668. The Sendraka charter, the Mundakhede grant of Jayaśakti, the son of Allaśakti, issued

in Śaka 602, corresponding to A. D. 680, registers the grant of the village Senana identified with the present Saudane near the western border of the Khandesh district.[90] The location of the donated village in the district of Khandesh and the use of the Śaka era in dating the record show that the grant was made outside Gujarat where the Kalachuri era remained current for more than half a century afterwards.[91]

Turning to the history of Śrayāśraya Śilāditya, it is worthy of note that all the three inscriptions of his viz., the Mudgapadra (A. D. 668)[92] Navsārī[93] (A. D. 671) and Surat (A. D. 693)[94] plates come from Southern Gujarat and record grants of land located in the same region. Out of the three charters,[95] the first two were issued from Navasārikā[96] - a circumstance which probably suggests that this city was the seat of government under Śrayāśraya Śilāditya.

Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, another son of Jayasiṁha, held sway over the region represented by the present Thana district. He seems to have been appointed to this post in about A. D. 671, for the Manor plates of this Chālukya prince were issued in

Śaka 613 (A. D. 691) corresponding to the twentieth year apparently of his governorship.[97] The charter records[98] the grant of some villages and hamlets for the worship of the Sun God and for the repairs of the temple at Mānapura, present Manor in the Palghar taluka of the Thana district. That he held this post at least till Śaka 653 (A.D. 731 - 32)[99] is proved by his another charter, discovered at Balsar in the Surat district. It was issued from Maṅgalapurī[100] which was probably founded by Maṅgalarasa himself and was evidently his capital.[101] Significantly enough, both the charters of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa are dated in Śaka era which was apparently current in the North Koṅkan unlike the principality of his brother Śrayāśraya Śīlāditya in Gujarat, where the Kalachuri era was still current.[102]

In the region to the south of the Thana district in the Koṅkan,[103] Svāmichandra of the Harischandra family would seem to have replaced Pulakeśin II's younger brother named Buddhavarasarāja who issued his Sanjān plates[104] from Pinūka, i.e. Pen in the present district of Kolaba. True, Buddhavarasarāja who describes himself as younger

brother of Pulakeśin II is not known from any other source, and that the plates are considered spurious, but as pointed out by Sten Konow they were drawn up at all events not long after the reign of Vikramāditya I,[105] who is mentioned with the imperial titles of Pṛithivīvallabha Rājādhirāja Parameśvara, and therefore it would be natural for the forger to insert real names and not fictitious ones. It seems that after his triumph over the Maurya[106]s at Purī, Pulakeśin II entrusted the government of this region to his younger brother Buddhavarasarāja, who continued to rule for sometime in the reign of his nephew Vikramāditya I.

Svāmichandra, designated as ' the lord of entire Purī-Koṅkaṇ country consisting of fourteen thousand villages,' in the Ajaneri[107] plates of his grandson Bhogaśakti, doubtlessly rose to power under Vikramāditya I, who according to the same inscription, loved him (Svāmichandra) as his own son.[108] As one of the two Ajaneri grants of Bhogaśakti is dated in A. D. 710 - 11, his grandfather Svāmichandra must be assigned to the third quarter of the seventh century.

Further South, the territory represented by the district of Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi, was under the government of Vikramāditya's elder brother Chandrāditya, whose queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā issued two copper-plate charters[109] and would seem to have taken active interest in the administration of the principality.[110] Of her two records, the Nerūr and Kochrem plates, the latter registers the donation of some land at the village of Kochchuraka, i.e. Kochrem in the present Ratnagiri district.

In the feudatory principality which had its headquarters at Ellichpur in the district of Amaraoti,[111] Rāshṭrakūṭa Svāmiraja must have succeeded his father Govinda, who was won over by Pulakesin II[112] for. Nannarāja, the former's son is known to have ruled over the same principality from about A.D. 680 to A. D. 710.[113] We are able to conclude this with the assistance of Nannarāja's Sangalooda (A. D. 693)[114] and Multāi plates (A. D. 710).[115]

A lithic record[116] at the site called Kalkoli, in the Kuknur village of Yalbargi taluka of the Raichur district in the ~~old Hyderabad~~ Mysore state mentions Prince Vinayāditya and states that Sindarasa was

administrating Kukanūr, which must be identified with the above mentioned village of Kuknur. The reference to Vinayāditya as a Prince would undoubtedly indicate that this undated inscription belongs to the reign of the latter's father, Vikramāditya I, when certain Sindarasa was acting as governor of Kukanūr, apparently under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi.[117]

The wise policy of Vikramāditya on the northern frontier of the empire bore good fruit. We are told in the Nāsik plates (A. D. 685)[118] of his younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasimha that the latter with ' the bright tipped arrows defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country, between the Mahī and Narmadā.'

महीनर्म्मदान्तराल (ले) धवलफलशिलीमुख
जाल विजित विनिहत वज्जडसमस्त सैन्या(न्य:)
..... धराश्रय श्री जयसिंहवर्मराज:

This was precisely the country of the Gurjara feudatories of the Chālukyas and the ruler on the Gurjara throne was Dadda III (A. D. 665 - 90).[119] It appears that when Vajjaḍa enchroached upon their territory, the Gurjaras turned to their liege-lord,

Vikramāditya I for military assistance. And Vikramāditya I would seem to have ordered Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha to proceed northwards to the rescue of the Gurjaras. This was so signal a victory that it was placed on a par with Pulakeśin's triumph over Harsha in the epigraphs of the Rāshṭrakūṭas,[120] who succeeded the Chālukyas to the sovereignty of Karṇāṭaka.

The name Vajjaḍa is apparently a Prākrit form of the Sanskrit name Vajraṭa.[121] While editing the above mentioned Nāsik plates Mr. Khare has[122] already shown that this Vajjaḍa must be identical with the Vajraṭa defeated by the Chālukyas as recorded in several Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions. This Vajjaḍa has been tentatively identified by Drs. Mirashi[123] and Miss Virji[124] with the Valabhī king Śīlāditya II who ruled from A. D. 658 - 85.

In his only known record namely the Prince of Wales Museum plates,[125] issued from his capital Bharukachchha in A. D. 675, Dadda III bears the epithet of Bāhusahāya ' one whose sole helper is is arm, ' and he is said to have won victories over ' the kings of the East and the West.'

In the absence of evidence we are not able to say who this eastern king was because we know almost nothing of the history of Northern India during the years following the death of Harsha. But the western king with whom Dadda III came into conflict was in all probability the Maitraka king Śilāditya II (A. D. 658 - 85).[126]

On the other hand we know for a fact that Śilāditya II was a powerful king ruling with the imperial titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara.[127] His enchroachment on the Gurjara territories at this period is evinced by his Anastu plates of A. D. 676 - 77, which register the grant of a village in the Bharukachchha-vishaya.[128] Hard pressed, Dadda III may have sought the aid of the Chālukya emperor, under whose directions as we have mentioned above Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha took the field and drove out the Maitraka invader.[129] This event must have taken place after A. D. 676 - 77, when Śilāditya II donated villages in the territorial division of Broach[130] and before A. D. 685, when we find it mentioned in the Nāsik grant of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha,[131] about the year A. D. 680.

Vikramāditya I followed the traditional

munificence of his family. This is attested by the numerous new grants he made to the gods (temples) and the Brāhmaṇas, and the renewal of the ones which had lapsed during the troubled times in the Chālukya empire.[132]

Vikramāditya I was a worthy son of his great father Pulakeśin II. A man of lesser mettle than Vikramāditya I could have scarcely achieved what he did keeping in mind the heavy odds that faced him at the begining of his career.[133] A later viceregal record justly compares the firmness of Vikramāditya I with that of Malaya, Meru, Mandara and Vindhya (mountains). Riding on his charge Chitrakantha[134] he not only re-established the Chālukya supremacy but placed it on a firm footing. The comparative peaceful reigns of his son Vinayāditya and the grandson Vijayāditya ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ are ~~xx xxxx~~ a measure of the consolidation of the power attained under Vikramāditya I.

In contradistinction ~~to~~ Mangaleśa and Pulakeśin II who were Parama-bhāgavatas[135] or ' devout worshipper of Vishnu ' Vikramāditya I was the first Chālukya ruler to be called Paramamāheśvara,[136]

' the devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva).'
In the Amudālapadū plates we find him making
an endowment of a village to the Brāhmaṇa
Sudarshanāchārya as Guru-dakshiṇā on the occasion
of the King's Śiva-maṇḍala-dikshā,[137] the exact nature
of which is uncertain. On the other hand the
Talamanchi plates mention certain Meghāchārya as
his Sva-kīya-guru,[138] while the Navasārī plates[139] of
his nephew Śrayāśraya Śilāditya describe him as
mediating on the feet of the holy Nāgavardhana.
It is difficult to determine whether Vikramāditya had several gurus
at the same time or he owed allegiance to a
particular Śaiva monastery and regarded the
pontiffs of the monastery as his preceptors.[140]

The high intellectual culture of the
members of the royal household is evident from
the fact that Vikramāditya's sister-in-law
Vijayabhaṭṭārikā,[141] besides taking active part in
administration made contributions to Sanskrit
literature. She is considered the celebrated
authouress Vijjakā of the Kaumudīmahotsava.[142]
Besides this play a number of poems are attributed
to her.[143] She is quoted by Manmata[144] in the

Śabdavyāpāra Vichāra and the Kāvyaprakāsha, by
145 146
Dhanika in the Daśarupāvaloka and by Mukulabhatta
in the Abhidhavṛtti-Mātṛikā.

N O T E S.

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(1) Fleet, ' Karnūl Plates of the tenth year of Vikramāditya I,' JBBRAS, vol XVI, pp. 227 - 229; pp. 238 - 239.

(2) Deva Krishna, ' Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Mangalarasa Saka: 613,' EI, vol XXVIII, pp. 17 - 22.;

Sten Konow, ' Sanjān Plates of Buddhavarasa,' EI, vol. XIV, pp. 144 - 152.

(3) Narasimhaswami, ' Turimella Inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya I, Year 2,' EI, vol. XXIX, pp. 160 - 164.

(4) Hultzsch, ' Gadvāl Plates of Vikramāditya I, A. D. 674,' EI, vol.X, pp. 100 ff.;

Ramesan, 'The Velnalli Grant of Vikramāditya I of the Western Chālukya Dynasty,' APGAS, No.6, pp. 46 - 51.;

Khare, ' Sāvanūr Plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya I; Saka 597;' EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 115 - 119.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Sircar, D. C., ' Amudālapādu Grant of Vikramāditya I,' EI, vol. XXXII, pp. 178 - 184.

(7) Hultzsch, ' Talamanchi Plates of Vikramāditya I, A. D. 660,' EI, vol. IX, pp. 98 - 102.;

Kielhorn, ' Post-script,' EI, vol. IX, p. 102.

(8) Supra, n. 6.

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(9) Ibid.

(10) Supra, no. 7.

(11) ARSIE, 1921, p. 21, App.B, No.364.;
SII, vol. X, p. 10.

(12) Infra, Ch. XI.

(13) Panchamukhi, ' Dayyamdinne Plates of Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya; Śaka 614,' EI, vol. XXII, pp. 24 - 29.

(14) Mahalingam, ' Āditya and Vikramāditya,' PIHC, vol. XX, pp. 113 - 118.

(15) Fleet, ' Karnūl Plates of the first year of Ādityavarman,' JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 223 - 224; 233 - 235.

(16) Hultzsch, ' Gadvāl Plates of Vikramāditya I; A. D. 674,' EI, vol. X, pp. 100 ff.;
Ramesan, ' The Velnalli grant of Vikramāditya I of the Western Chālukya Dynasty,' APGAS, No.6, pp. 46 - 51.

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(17) Supra, n. 15.

' Is the Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara Ādityavarman, the favourite of the earth, who possesses the supreme sovereignty over the whole circuit of the earth which was overrun by the strength of his own arm and his prowess.'

(18) Supra, n. 16.

' This Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya Śrīprithivīvallabha- Mahārājādhirāja- Parameśvara, who has won by (his) valour the sovereignty of the whole circle of the earth, thus commands all people.'

(19) Supra, n. 14.

(20) ASMAR. 1918, p. 42.;

Moraes, op. cit., p. 61.;

Pathak, ' Ābhonā Plates of Saṁkaragaṇa, Kalachuri Saṁvat 347,' EI, vol. IX, pp. 296 - 300.;

Gupte, 'Vadner Plates of Buddharāja, (Kalachuri) Saṁvat 360,' EI, vol. XII, pp. 30 - 36.

(21) Majumdar, ' The Foundation of the Gupta Empire,' CA, pp. 15 and 19.;

Ray Chaudhari, H. C., op. cit. 533 ff.; 553 ff.

(22) Desai, ' Nelkunda Grant of Abhinavāditya,' EI, vol. XXXII, pp. 213 - 216.

Page : 224.

(23) Fleet, ' Kauthem Plates of Vikramāditya V. Śaka Saṁvat 930,' IA, vol. XVI, pp. 17 ff.

(24) Supra, n. 16.

(25) Sircar, ' Genealogy and Chronology of the Pallavas,' CA, pp. 279 - 281.

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(26) Supra, p. 158.

(27) Narasimhaswami, H.K., 'Tippalūru Inscription of Vikramāditya II,' EI, vol. XXX, pp. 12 - 17.;

Sastri Nilakanta, ' The Chālukyas of Bādāmi,' EHOD, p. 221.;

Sastri Nilakanta, and Venkataramanayya, ' Telugu - Chola Records from Anantapur and Cuddapah ' EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 241 ff.

(28) Ibid.

Page : 226.

(29) Sastri, H. Krishna, ' Mālēpādu Plates of Puṇyakumāra ; fifth year,' EI, vol. XI, pp. 337 ff.

(30) Supra, n. 27.

(31) Butterworth and Venugopal, NI, Darsi : 2.;

ARSIE, 1933 - 34. App. B, No.183, p.24.;

Sastri, Nilakanta, ' The Chālukyas of Bādāmi,' EHOD, p. 221.

(32) Ibid.

Page : 227.

(33) Fleet, ' Karnūl Plates of the third year of Vikramāditya I,' JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 225 - 227, 235 - 237.;

Supra, ns. 1, 4, 6 and 7.

(34) Supra, n. 3.

(35) Supra, n. 33.

(36) Supra, n. 7.

(37) ARSIE, 1906, Nos. 474 - 476.

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(38) Supra, pp. 149 - 155.

(39) ASMAR, 1939, pp. 129 - 137.

(40) Supra, n. 16.

(41) Khare, ' Sāvanūr Plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya I, Śaka 597,' EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 115 - 119.

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(42) Supra, n. 25.

(43) Supra, ns. 16 and 41.

(44) Supra, n. 16.

(45) Supra, n. 41

(46) Supra, ns. 16 and 41.

(47) Bhagawanlal Indraji, ' A Copper Plate Grant of the Chālukya Dynasty found at Navasārī,' JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 1 - 7.;

Hultzsch, ' Navasārī Plates of Śryāśraya Silāditya,' EI, vol. VIII, pp. 229 - 234.;

Mirashi, ' Navasārī Plates of Yuvarāja Śrayāśraya Śilāditya (Kalachuri) Year 421,' CII, vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 123 -127.

(48) Both the Gadvāl (Supra n. 16) and Sāvanūr (Supra, n. 41) Plates were issued from Uragapuram.

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(49) Dubreuil, The Pallavas, p. 43.;

Gopalan, op. cit., p. 104, note 4.;

Subramaniam, T.N., ' A Note on Uragapuram,' PTOC, vol. VII, pp. 597 - 603.

(50) Supra, ns. 16 and 41.

(51) Ibid.

Fleet thought that 'naya' was a better reading than 'nayana' because the latter is ' hardly capable of use in the sense of naya or nīti, which is evidently intended here'(IA,vol.VI,p.77.). Dr. Venkataramanayya rightly thinks, ' that the author of the inscription did not at all intend to use nayana in the sense of nīti but he used it in its proper sense " eyes "' And ' therefore ' conquered Īśvara (Śiva) by his angry looks ' would be a better translation than ' conquered Īśvara by polity,' as adopted by Dr. Fleet. The fiery eyes of Śiva which cause the destruction of the world, are well-known. The author of the inscription thus wants to emphasise that Vikramāditya was such a mighty monarch that with his angry looks he conquered even Īśvara (Śiva).

Venkataramanayya, N., ' Did Parameśvaravarman I capture Vātāpi,' MCCM, 1927, pp. 236 - 42.

(52) Ibid.

Page : 231.

(53) Supra, ns. 16 and 41.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Ibid.

Page : 232.

(56) Ibid.

(57) Supra, n. 16.; Ch. VII, pp. 215 - 216.

(58) Supra, n. 41.

(59) Hultzsch, ' Udayendiram Plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla,' SII, vol. II, pp. 361 - 374.;

Gopalan, op. cit., p. 105.

(60) Hultzsch, ' A Pallava Grant from Kūram,' SII, vol. I, pt. IV, pp. 144 ff.

In a later inscription (Ibid., pp..22 - 23.) we are told that Parameśvaravarman's ' valour dried up the army of Raṇarasika, just as the heat of the Sun does the mud!'.

Page : 233.

(61) Ibid.

(62) Ibid.

Page : 234.

(63) Periya-Tirumoli, 4, 5, 6.;

Aiyangar, M. Raghavan, ' Tirumangai Ālvār and Cālukya Vikramāditya,' JOR, vol. III, pp. 74 - 79.

(64) Ibid.

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(65) Supra, pp. 155 - 56.

(66) Ibid.

(67) Periyapurāṇam, Śirutoṇḍar, verse: 6.

(68) Ibid.

Page: 236.

(69) Sastri Nilakanta, The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, pp. 53 - 54.;

Aiyar, K. V. S., Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan, pp. 125 - 127.

(70) Ibid.;

Sastri Nilakanta, op. et loc. cit. p. 258.

(71) Hultzsch, ' Kāñchīpuram Pallava Inscriptions' SII, vol. I, p. 42.

The expression रणरसिकपुरोम्मर्द्दनाद (दु) ग्रदण्ड was, however, translated as 'the destroyer of the city of Raṇarasika' by Hultzsch, while prof. Nilakanta Sastri renders it as ' the oppressor of the city of Raṇarasika.' (The Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi,' EHOD, p. 223, n. 3.).

(72) Supra, ns. 16 and 41.

(73) Dubreuil, op. cit., p. 43.

Prof. Dubreuil's suggestion regarding ' the city of Raṇarasika being a reference to Uragapuram, i.e. present Uraiyūr is not convincing enough, for this place was merely a place of military encampment.

(74) Bhandarkar, D. R., ' Jejuri Plates of Vinayāditya; Ś.S. 609,' EI, vol. XIX, pp. 62 -65.

(75) Fleet, ' Nerūr Grant of Vijayāditya,' IA, vol. IX, pp. 125 ff.

(76) Panchamukhi, 'Dayyamdinne Plates of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya; Śaka 614,' EI, vol. XXII, pp. 24 - 29.;

Gai, ' Māyalūr Plates of Chālukya Vijayāditya,' EI, vol. XXXIII, pp. 311 -314.;

Kielhorn, 'Vakkalēri Plates of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. V, pp. 200 - 205.

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(77) Sankalia, ' A Copper Plate Grant of Chālukya Vijayāditya, Saka 632,' EI, vol. XXVI, pp. 322 - 326.;

Pathak, ' Kendūr Plates of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. IX, pp. 200 ff.;

Bhandarkar, D. R., ' Jejuri Plates of Vinayāditya: S.S. 609,' EI, vol. XIX, pp. 62 - 65.

(78) Supra, n. 74.

(79) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. II, pp. 6 -12.;

'A Copper plate Grant of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya; A. D.693,' Annual report of Kannada Research in Bombay Province 1940 - 41, pp. 9-10.

Page : 238.

(80) Supra, pp. 160 - 164.

(81) Mirashi, CII, vol. IV, pt. I, Introduction, pp. ix ff.

(82) Supra, n. 47.

(83) Khare, ' The Nāsik Plates of Jayasiṁha,' SMHD, vol. I, p. 8 ff.;

Mirashi, ' Nāsik Plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha (Kalachuri) Year 436,' op. et. loc. cit., pp. 127 - 131.

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(84) Dr. Mirashi's view that Anivārita was the name of Jayasiṁha's guru (op. et loc. cit, p. 124.) is not convincing. Dr. Sircar (EI, vol. XXXIV, p. 117.) has rightly pointed out that Anivārita of the Nāsik Plate of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha was

Vikramāditya, as it is borne out by most of the records of Vikramāditya I, which accord him this title (Supra, ns. 1, 4, 6 and 7.).

(85) Supra, n. 83.

(86) Mirashi, op. et loc. cit., pp. lx ff.

(87) Ibid.

(88) Bühler, ' Bagumra Grant of Nikumbhallāśakti,' IA, vol. XVIII, pp. 265 - 270.;

Mirashi, ' Bagumra Plates of Allaśakti: (Kalachuri) Year 406,' CII, vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 117-122.

(89) Sircar, ' Mudgapadra Grant of Yuvarāja Śilāditya,' EI, vol. XXXIV, pp. 171 ff.

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(90) Chandorkar, ' A Copper Plate Grant of the Sendraka Chief Jayaśakti,' Prabhat of Dhulia, vol. I, No.12.;

Mirashi, ' Mundakhede Plates of Sendraka Jayaśakti; Śaka 602,' EI, vol. XXIX, pp. 116 - 121.

(91) The Navasārī Plates of Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin dated in the Kalachuri Era were issued in K. 490, i.e. A. D. 740.;

Bhagawanlal Indraji, ' Navasārī Plates of Pulakeśirāja, PVOC, pp. 211 ff.;

Mirashi, ' Navasārī Plates of Pulakeśirāja,' op. et loc.cit. pp. 137-145.

(92) Supra, n. 89.

(93) Supra, n. 47.

(94) Bhagawanlal Indraji, ' Surat Plates of

Śrayāśraya Śilāditya,'
PVOC, vol. VII, pp. 211 ff.;

Mirashi, 'Surat Plates of Yuvarāja Śrayāśraya Śilāditya, (Kalachuri) Year 443,
op. et loc. cit. pp. 132 - 137.

(95) Supra, ns. 47, 89 and 94.

(96) Supra, ns. 89 and 47.

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(97) Supra, n. 2.

(98) Ibid.

(99) Bhagawanlal Indraji, JBBRAS, vol. XVI, p. 5.;

Mirashi, op. et loc. cit. p. lxiii.

(100) Ibid.

(101) Supra, ns. 2, 99.

(102) Supra, n. 91.

(103) Vats and Diskalkar, 'Two Grants of Prithvīchandra Bhogaśakti,'
EI, vol. XXV, pp. 225 - 238.;

Mirashi, 'Ajaneri Plates (first set) of Bhogaśakti (Kalachuri) Year 461,'
op. et. loc cit., pp. 146 - 154.

(104) Sten Konow, art. cit.

Page : 242.

(105) Ibid.

(106) The genealogy of the Imperial Chālukya family is carried down to the reign of Vikramāditya I in the Sanjān plates of Buddhavarasarāja (Sten Konow, art. cit.).

(107) Supra, n. 103.

(108) Ibid.

Page : 243.

(109) Fleet, ' Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. VIII, pp. 44 ff.;

Ibid, vol. VII, pp. 163 ff.

(110) Ibid.

(111) Supra, pp. 117 - 119.

(112) Ibid.

(113) Mirashi, 'Nagardhan Plates of Svāmirāja,' EI, vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 ff.

(114) Venkataramaiyya, M., ' Sangalooda Plates of Nannarāja; Saka 615,' EI, vol. XXIX, pp. 109 ff.

(115) Fleet, ' Multāi Copper plate Grant of Nannarāja, Śaka Saṁvat 631,' IA, vol. XVIII, pp. 230 - 236.

(116) ARIE, 1955 - 56, B. 212, p. 38.

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(117) Ibid.

(118) Supra, n. 83.

(119) Mirashi, op. et loc.cit., p. cxc.

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(120) Fleet, ', Rāshṭrakūṭa Grant of Dantidurga S. 675,' IA, vol. XI, pp. 108 ff.

(121) Supra, n. 83.

(122) Ibid.

(123) Mirashi, ' New Light on the Medieval History of Gujarāt,' Ācharya Pushpāñjali Volume, pp. 56 ff.;

Mirashi, ' A Note on Vajraṭa,'
IHQ, vol. XX, pp. 353 ff.;

Dr. Mirashi, while he identifies Vajjada with the same Maitraka king Śilāditya II as does Miss Virji (Infra, n. 124.), but unlike the latter author he designates him as Śilāditya III.

(124) Virji, op. cit., p. 86.;

Dr. Venkataramanayya in his article on 'Vajraṭa' (IHQ), vol. XX, pp.181 ff.) maintains that Vajraṭa was identical with the north Indian king, with whom Vinayāditya and his son Vijayāditya came into conflict. The suggestion, however, is unacceptable for as would be seen in the following pages, the clash with the north Indian ruler took place sometime about A. D. 695 - 696, while the defeat of Vajraṭa is mentioned in the Nāsik inscription of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha dated A. D. 685.

(125) Chakravarti, S. N., 'Prince of Wales Museum Plates, of Dadda III, Year 427,'
EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 197 - 201.

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(126) Mirashi, op. et loc. cit., pp. liv.;

Virji, op. cit., p. 86.

(127) Gadre, op. cit., pp. 16 ff.

(128) Ibid.

(129) Supra, pp. 245 and 246.

(130) Supra, n. 128.

(131) Supra, n. 83.

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(132) Supra, ns. 1, 4, 6 and 7.

(133) Supra, n. 91.

(134) Supra, ns. 4, 6 and 7.

(135) Supra, pp. 105 and 173.

(136) Supra, n. 47.

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(137) Supra, n. 6.

(138) Supra, n. 7.

(139) Supra, n. 47.

(140) Sircar,'Presidential Address,' POC, vol. XIX, pp. 73 - 182.

(141) Supra, pp. 214 - 215.

(142) Vijjakā, op. cit., pp. 8- 12.

(143) Ibid., p. 46.; App. A.

(144) Vijjakā, op. cit, p. 46.

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(145) Ibid.

(146) Ibid.

CHAPTER IX

VINAYĀDITYA.

Vinayāditya, the son and successor of Vikramāditya I, seems to have taken up the reigns of government a few years before his father's demise in A. D. 681. For in his own inscriptions his regnal years are counted from two different starting points,[1] one starting from some day between 18th Oct. 678 and 2nd July 679, and the other starting from a day between 2nd June and 4th July 681. Dr. Fleet,[2] in his effort to explain this discrepancy, suggested that at the earlier of these two dates Vināyaditya might have become Yuvarāja. But we have found the latter actively engaged in the administration and the military affairs of the empire during Vikramāditya I's expedition in the South (A. D. 670 - 74)[3], and it seems probable that Vinayāditya was designated Yuvarāja and heir-designate much earlier than A. D. 678 - 79. Vinayāditya had a short but successful reign of a decade and half lasting upto A. D. 696,[4] which was the first regnal year of his son Vijayāditya who ascended the Chālukya throne after him.

Besides the imperial style of Satyāśraya Śrīpṛithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Bhaṭṭaraka,[5] he bore the appellation of ' Rajasraya,'[6] the asylum of kings. In the majority of his epigraphs Vinayāditya is compared with the mythical heroes of great fame, to Yuddhisṭhira ' through being of an excessively affectionate disposition,' to Vāsudeva (Vishnu) ' through being the beloved of (śrī) goddess of fortune,' to Paraśurāma ' through being a very elephant-goad to kings' and to Bharata ' through being the asylum of kings.'[7]

Vināyaditya's achievements against the south Indian powers during the period of apprenticeship in the reign of his father have already been mentioned in the previous chapter.[8] His own records describe him as having reduced the Pallavas, Kaḷabhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Viḷas, Māḷavas, Choḷas, Pāṇḍyas and others to a state of servitude as that of the Āḷūvas (Āḷūpas), Gaṅgas and others, who were the hereditary servants of his family.[9]

The claim does not seem an empty boast but is an index to the substantial political success

so far achieved by the Chālukyas, which appears to have covered a wide range. During the victorious reign of Vikramāditya I, in which Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya took an active part, the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Cheras and Kaḷabhras were brought under the sphere of the Chālukya influence.[10] The Māḷavas of the above account are to be taken as the Maḷavaraiyans of Maḷanāḍu, a region near present Trichinopoly,[11] and it is not unlikely that they too were subjugated during Vikramāditya's southern expedition. The existence of the Haihayas (the Kalachuris) at the time we are speaking of is undoubted, although no inscriptions of the family contemporaneous with Vinayāditya have come down to us. For it is known that the two queens of Vikramāditya II, the grandson of Vinayāditya, belonged to this family.[12] But at the present state of our knowledge the Vilas who figure among the people subjugated by the Chālukyas in this account of Vinayāditya can not be identified.

The mention of the Pallavas in the same breath along with the Haihayas, Vilas, Maḷavas, Pāṇḍyas, Cholas, Cheras and Kaḷabhras is the only point which will now command our attention. True,

Parameśvaravarman I claims a victory over Vikramāditya I at Peruvalanallur.[13] But it is abundantly clear from his own inscription, to which a detailed reference has been made in the previous chapter, that it was not so much a victory as a narrow escape from a disaster,[14] for the reason that had it been otherwise the Pallavas would have followed up the victory as they had done on a previous occasion.[15] In actual fact, though the Chālukyas were compelled to leave the Pallavas alone for the moment they seem to have returned and imposed their suzerainty over the latter. This is attested by the Kolhapur grant of Vinayāditya[16] which includes the Pallavas among the various powers that paid tribute to the Chālukyas. Vinayāditya, it is well-known, did not fight any wars in the south. The tribute from Pallavas must have therefore been levied by Vikramāditya I in the reign of Parameśvaravarman I - a practice which was continued by the latter in the reign of Vinayāditya.

The epigraphs of Vijayāditya would have us believe that Vinayāditya embarked on a expedition to the north.[17] Thus we are told that Vinayāditya

acquired the banner called Pālidhvaja and other insignia of sovereignty, by defeating, like his grandfather (Pulakeśin II), the lord of the entire region of the north (Sakalottarāpathanātha) whose name, however, is not specified.[18] Further, the inscriptions record that when Vinayāditya desired to conquer Uttarāpatha his son Vijayāditya defeated the hostile forces in front (in the presence) of his father, had the edge of his sword blunted by its being used against hosts of enemy elephants, took the lead in all fighting being fond of displaying heroism in a just cause, forced his enemies to turn their backs and delivered to his father the tokens (symbols) of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the Pālidhvaja Standard, the Dhakkā (drum), the insignia of the (five) great sounds, rubies, elephants and other articles.[19]

The epigraphs doubtless refer to one and the same expedition in which both father and son distinguished themselves.[20] A significant fact mentioned in this connection is that his fleeing foes somehow got hold of Vijayāditya and carried him away. Then we are informed that Vijayāditya by his prowess quelled the anarchical disturbances in his country, and, resembling Vatsarāja in not

depending on any other for assistance, came safely through his obstacles and tranquillised the whole world by the support of his own arm.'[21]

The Vatsarāja here referred to is the hero of the Kathāsaritasāgara who when taken captive by the enemies, managed to escape from captivity by means of a stratagem, arranged by his shrewd minister who loosened an intoxicated elephant in the place where Vatsarāja was imprisoned.[22] The enemies were compelled to bring out Vatsarāja, who alone with the music of his lute could control the elephant. The latter not only brought the elephant under his control but mounted the very elephant and ran away from the enemy hands.[23] The comparison of Vijayāditya with this Vatsarāja may suggest that he too like the hero of legendary fame escaped from the enemy captivity by means of stratagem, the details of which, however, are not mentioned in the epigraphs. It may here be noted that the author of the Kathāsaritasāgara drew upon the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa[24] a Sanskrit play by Bhāsa, which has for its story this incident from the life of Vatsarāja.

Further, the statement in the Chālukya epigraphs that Vijayāditya quelled the disturbances in the kingdom,[25] which were probably the result of his

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Further, the statement in the Chālukya epigraphs that Vijayāditya quelled the disturbances in the kingdom,[25] which were probably the result of his

absence may suggest that Vinayāditya died while Vijayāditya was still a captive, and hence, the confusion in the Chālukya kingdom which had no king on the throne at the moment.

Since the event is not mentioned in Vinayāditya's own records, it appears to have taken place sometime towards the end of Vinayāditya's reign. It may be placed sometime after May 695. The last known date of Vinayāditya furnished by his Patodā Grant[26] and before July 696 which was the first month of the first regnal year of his successor Vijayāditya.[27]

In the absence of information regarding identity of this north Indian adversary in the Chālukya inscriptions, he has been variously identified with Vajraṭa,[28] Yaśovarman,[29] and Ādityasena or Devagupta,[30] the latter's son.

Thus Dr. Fleet thought that this adversary was Vajraṭa whose crushing defeat at the hands of the Chālukyas has been commemorated in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records.[31] The suggestion, however, is unacceptable for the reason that, as we have already seen, it was Vinayāditya's uncle Dharāśraya Jayasimha

that defeated this Vajrata before A. D. 685.[32]

Nor can we accept the identification of the north Indian ruler with Yaśovarman of Kanauj, a suggestion originally proposed by C. V. Vaidya[33] and accepted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar,[34] For there is no agreement among the scholars about the exact date of Yaśovarman. Nevertheless, being a contemporary of Lalitāditya of Kashmir[35] he could not have ruled earlier than the first half of the eighth century. Even presuming that Yaśovarman's reign commenced in A. D. 695, as Dr. Majumdar would have us believe,[36] it is still difficult to identify him with Vinayāditya's north Indian adversary. In the Prākṛit poem Gaudavaho, ' the slaying of the Gauḍa,' where Yaśovarman's achievements are sung by his poet-laureate Vākpati, the monarch is said to have first conquered the king of Gauḍa, i.e. present Bengal and then proceeded towards Vaṅga, present Bihar.[37] After that follows the description of Yaśovarman's digvijayāyatrā, in the course of which, he won a victory over the king of the South.[38] Naturally enough, though these triumphs are mentioned in the same place, they could not have occured in the same year, and much less could this annus mirabli, if

there was one, be the very year of his accession. Accordingly, if the southern king defeated by Yaśovarman is to be identified with a king of the Chālukyas, he could not have been Vinayāditya who was no more after A. D. 696.[39]

Under these circumstances the suggestion of Dr. Raychaudhari[40] that it was Ādityasena or his son Devagupta II, that was defeated by the Chālukya kings Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya seems to be the closest approximation to truth. But a case can not be made out for the identification of the north Indian ruler with Ādityasena of the later Gupta family.[41] It is known from the Chinese sources that in A. D. 692 a representative of king Devasena (Ti-po-si-na) of central India was sent to China to render homage and make presents to the emperor of that country.[42] Now, the Deo-Bārnārk inscription of Jivitagupta II chronicles that the latter's grandfather Devagupta III ascended the Gupta-throne after his father Ādityasena. It is not unlikely that Devagupta III of this epigraph[43] and Devasena, the ruler of central India mentioned in the Chinese sources[44] refer to the same individual, namely the son of Ādityasena. For the year of the visit

of the representative of Devasena fits in well with the known facts which establish the chronology of the Guptas.[45] The Aphasad record of Ādityasena for instance is dated in A. D. 672, and it is not unlikely that this latter was followed on the throne by his son Devagupta sometime before A.D.692.

The later Chālukya inscriptions[46] represent Vinayāditya as having collected tribute from the kings of Kamera or Kavera, Pārasīka, Simhala and other dvipas. Simhala is no doubt the name by which Ceylon was known in ancient India.[47] A country by the name Kamera is also mentioned in the recently published Kolhāpur charter of Vinayāditya issued[48] in A. D. 693, which records that the latters' ' conquest of trairājya (Chola-Pāndya-Chera countries) formed the subject of festive songs of the intoxicated damsels of the Kamera country.'[49] Dr. Fleet proposed that Kamera or Kavera may have been the name of some region watered by the river Kāverī, while the account of Kosmas, written during the sixth century of the Christian era mentions a trade emporium by the name Kabēr identified with the present Kāverīpattam which lies north of Tranquebar at the mouth of the river Pudu-Kāverī in the state of Madras.[50] Kāverīpattam,

however, can not be the Kamera of the Chālukya epigraphs. For one thing, Kāveripattam situated at a distance of about 80 miles from Kāñchīpuram must have formed a part of the Pallava dominions, while for another, the mention of Kamera and Pallava countries in the same epigraph, i.e. Kolhapur Grant[51] of Vinayāditya shows that they were two different places. It is interesting to note in this connection that a place called Qumār is mentioned by Ibn Khurdadhbeh (A. D. 844 - 848) and eight other Arab writers of the medieaval period.[52] The information imparted by Ibn Khurdadhbeh's work entitled, ' Book of Roads and Kingdoms,' which was the result of his topographical and geographical researches[53] clearly shows that Qumār was an island between Java and Cambodia (Sanf)[54]. This place was famous for the export of its ' best variety of aloes' mentioned as 'Qamarūni aloe'.[55]

Now, it is an established fact that the ports of the Konkan were visited by the ships from the countries of east as well as those of the west.[56] It is therefore, not improbable that the cargo ships from Qumār which appears to be identical with Kamera of the Chālukya epigraphs visited the ports of

Konkan situated within Vinayāditya's empire and their king was made to pay a tribute to the Chālukya emperor for providing the trade facilities to merchant-ships from Sumār.

The Pārasīka is evidently the Sanskritized form of Persia. A work entitled Persikā dealing with the history of Persia was written by Ktesias, who had access to the state archives, being a physician at the court of the Persian king Artaxerses Mnemon (B. C. 404).[57] The people called Pārasīkas appear in the classical Sanskrit literature. These Pārasīkas were evidently Persian settlers in the region to the North-west. For it must be mentioned that the Punjab formed a satrapy of the Achemenid empire down to its last days.[58] This is confirmed by a verse in the Bhishma Parva of the Mahābhārata which connects Pārasīkas with the Yavanas, Huṇas, Mlechchhas, Kambojas and the Chinese.[59] The Pārasīkas also appear among the people vanquished by Raghu, the hero of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamsa,[60] composed during the middle of the fifth century. Raghu is said to have reached the country of Pārasīkas by proceeding in the Westernly direction from Trikūṭa which is identified with the North Konkan.[61] Raghu is here

made to follow a land route to the Pārasīka-country, which shows precise knowledge of Persia on the part of the poet.[62] In the Harsha-charita of Bāṇa, written during the first half of the seventh century horses of the Pārasīka are mentioned.[63] Scholars like Buhler,[64] Nandlal Day,[65] Ray Chaudhari[66] and Sircar[67] all agree that this Pārasīka is none other than Persia with which Northern India had an age-long intercourse. In his Christian Topography Kosmas refers to the Christians, who had settled in Kerala.[68] It is worthy of note that in this interesting part of India there is an element in the local population[69] which derives its origin from Persia. This element can be found in the Syrian Christian community of Malabar,[70] and there is a tradition among them that they were for long ruled by their own kings.[71] It is not unlikely that in the eighth century, i.e. when they are mentioned in the Chālukya epigraphs,[72] they were known as Pārasīkas.

The account of Kosmas receives corroboration in the Gaudavaho of Vākpati, who writing in the first half of the eighth century, places Pārasīkas north of Cape Comorin and on the sea coast below the southern Sahyādris.[73] This part of west-coast could

be none other than the present Kerala.

Inspite of all these details it remains uncertain whether Vinayāditya collected tribute from these people who had settled in Kerala or it was gathered from the King of Persia for permitting the Persian ships to enter the harbours of the Konkan coast.

Did the disturbed political condition of Ceylon at this time offer an opportunity to Vinayāditya to fish in troubled waters? In A. D. 668 Mānavarman, the Ceylonese fugitive ruler at the court of Pallava Narasimhavarman had at long last gained the throne of Ceylon after killing Hastadamstra II with Pallava help and ruled there till A. D. 703.[74] In the Mahāvamsa the account of the reign of this ruler ends with his accession despite the fact that he had a long reign of 35 years thereafter.[75] It is possible that he had to contend against his adversaries, and he paid tribute to Vinayāditya to prevent them from making common cause with him.

Very little information is afforded in the epigraphs about Vinayāditya's family.

Besides Vijayāditya, who was associated with Vinayaditya in his military campaigns and administration, we hear of a daughter called Kum-kum-mahādevī. She figures in the epigraphs of Vijayāditya issued in his tenth[76] and eleventh[77] regnal years. In the Gudigere record of A. D. 1079 belonging to the later Chālukyas she is credited with the construction of the Jain monastery known as Anessejjeyabasadi.[78] We are told in the Shiggaon plates(A. D. 707) of her brother Vijayāditya that the latter travelled from his camp at Paṭṭadakal to Banavasi in order to meet the Ālūpendra Chitravāhana and at the latter's request he made a grant to the Jain monastery which was to be constructed by Kum-kumdevī at Purigere, i.e. Laxmeśvara in the Dharwar district.[79] The association of the monastery with Kum-kum-mahādevī no less than the circumstances under which the grant was made would suggest that Kum-kum-mahādevī was the wife of Ālūpa Chitravāhana. The record states that Vijayāditya specially came to see the Ālūpa ruler.

'Ālūpendram drashṭum vanavāsim=
āyātavati Vijayāditya Vallabhendre.'[80]

Vinayavati, the queen of Vinayāditya

survived her husband and in the 3rd regnal year of her son Vijayāditya installed the images of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Maheśvara in the shrine now known as the Jambuliṅga temple.[81]

In the introduction to the second volume of his Karṇāṭaka Inscriptions[82] Mr. Panchamukhi takes Kaliṅgeti[83] at whose request the Kolhapur plates were issued in A. D. 693, to be a son of Vinayāditya and seeks to identify him with Arikesari I, a ruler of the L(V)ēmulvāḍa[84] house of the Chālukyas, on the ground that the latter's father bore the name Vinayāditya. The suggestion, however, is rendered invalid in view of the fact that Arikesari I did not belong to the main house of the Chālukya family but to a minor branch and flourished more than 75 years later than Vinayāditya.[85] In his Vikramārjunavijaya,[86] the poet Pampa states that Arikesari I was a contemporary of Nirupama~~rāya~~deva who could be none other than the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva, who ruled from A. D. 780-93[87] and bore the appellations of Nirupama and Kalivallabha as is known from his undated inscription at Paṭṭadakal.[88] This date of Arikesari I receives further support in an undated lithic epigraph[89] at Kuruvagatta in the Nagar-Karnul taluka of the

Mahaboobnagar district. The record mentions ' Birgṛiha, a son of Vinayāditya of the Chālukya family and therefore a brother of Arikesari I, as a ' good friend of K(G)ovinda-vallabha, son of Kalivallabha of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.'[90] This Kalivallabha was the same Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva (A. D. 780 - 93), above referred to, who bears the appellation of Kalivallabha.[91]

The epigraphs of Vinayāditya of which there are a fair number, show that the monarch took active interest in the administration of the realm, travelling through the length and breadth of the empire fixing his camp in the different parts of his dominions, now at Pāṅgal in the Mahaboobnagar district[92] and then at Bhādali in the lower valley of the river Nirā, a tributary of the river Bhīmā.[93] It was in the course of one such royal progress that we find Vinayāditya in his camp also at the Mahakotatīrtha, i.e. Mahākūta,[94] situated at a distance of three miles from Bādāmi, and later at the Pampātīrtha near Hampe[95] in the Bellary district.

Following in the footsteps of his father, Vinayāditya associated his son Vijayāditya in the administration of the empire. Accordingly, the

latter is designated Yuvarāja in Vinayāditya's record of eleventh regnal year.[96] He also continued the practice of appointing members of the royal family as provincial viceroys, and thus it was that the emperor's uncle Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha continued to administer the Chālukya possessions in the north with the assistance of his sons Śrayāśraya Śilāditya and Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa.[97]

The emperor was ably assisted by his feudatories like the Bāṇas,[98] Sendrakas[99] and the Alūpas[100] who loyally served the empire. A lithic record dated in the tenth regnal year of Vinayāditya[101] registers a gift of land by a Bāṇa feudatory, and the undated Balagāṁve inscription[102] shows Mahārāja Pogilli of the Sendraka family administering the Nāgarakhaṇḍa division on behalf of the emperor, while the Sorāb plates of A. D. 692[103] and the Harihara grant of A. D. 694[104] record donations of land at the request of the Ālupa chief Chitravāhana. The region to the south of the Thana district in the Konkan, which was held by Svāmichandra of the Hariśchandra family in the preceding reign[105] must have been now governed by the latter's son Siṁhavarman. For in the next reign of Vijayāditya,

we find Bhogaśakti, the grandson of Svāmichandra, being described as an ornament of the Puri-Konkana country in the Ajaneri[106] plates of A. D. 710 -11.

Like other members of his line Vinayāditya was also distinguished for his charities. In his grant of Śaka 604 (A. D. 682) he donated the village Paneyāl situated on the southern bank of the river Krishna to a Vedic scholar Mādhavasvāmin.[107] Four years later in Śaka 608 (A. D. 686) we find him donating the village Hadagile in the Beluvala 300 for maintenance of a Jaina-temple.[108] Vinayaditya would also appear to have made donations at the instance of his queen. Thus it was at her request that he made grants of land to two Brāhmaṇas named Durgaśarman and Raviśarman.[109] It is interesting that these grants were ' Kanyā-dharm-ārtham,' in the sense of ' Kanyā-dāna-dharmārtham' i.e. for the merit accruing from the gift of a girl (in marriage) to these Brāhmaṇa scholars.[110] Apparently, the girls were given in marriage to the two Brāhmaṇa donees by the queen and the gift of land was made on the occasion, as according to the Dharmaśāstras the gift of a girl, though it undoubtedly entails great merit, should also be accompanied by grant of

lands among other gifts.

We are told in the Chinese sources[111] that in the year A. D. 692, a king of southern India, che-lu-ki-pa-lo, sent an ambassador with the products of the country, apparently for the purposes of presentation, to the court of China. If Chālukya\vallabha is the Indian equivalent for Chinese che-lu-ki-pa-lo as suggested by Mr. Chavannes,[112] the ruler concerned would be none other than Vinayāditya of the Bādāmi house, who ruled from A. D. 680 - 81 to A. D. 696.[113]

The Celestial court probably returned the compliment by deputing Po-Yūn to the Chālukya Emperor in the same year.[114] Po-Yūn invited the Buddhist-monk scholar Bodhiruchi to go to China with him and he actually reached China in the following year.[115] In Nanjio's A Catalogue of Buddhist Tripitaka, we find Bodhiruchi described as a śramaṇa of southern India.[116] Since the same territorial designation is used in the Buddhist sources in the description of Che-li-ki-pa-lo,[117] it is possible that Po-Yūn met Bodhiruchi at Vinayāditya's court.

It may be noted in this connection that

a Jaina priest named Udayadevapandita alias Niravadyapandita, who belonged to the Devagana branch of the Mūlasangha lineage, was also at the court of Vinayāditya[118] -- thus testifying to the catholicity of the religious outlook of Vinayāditya.

N O T E S.

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(1) Panchamukhi, ' Dayyamdinne Plates of Vinayāditya - Satyāśraya, Śaka 614,' EI, vol. XXII, pp. 24 -29;

Sarma, Somasekhara, ' The Māyalūr Plates of Vinayāditya,' JOR, vol. X, pp. 27- 46;

Panchamukhi, ' A Note on the Māyalūr Plates of Vinayāditya - Satyāśraya,' JOR, vol. XI, pp. 165 - 174.

(2) Fleet, DKD, pp. 367 - 68, Note 4.

(3) Supra, pp. 237 - 238.

(4) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, pp. 2 ff.

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(5) Bhandarkar, D. R., 'Jejuri Plates of Vinayāditya: Śaka-Saṁvat 609,' EI, vol. XIX, pp. 62 - 65.;

Vats, 'Poonā Plates, of Chālukya Vinayāditya: Saka: 612,' EI, vol. XXV, pp. 289 - 91.;

Fleet, 'W. Chalukya Grant of Vinayāditya, Ś. 616,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 300 - 303.

(6) Fleet, ' Baḷagāmve Stone Inscription of the time of Vinayāditya,' IA, vol. XIX, pp. 142 - 46.;

EC, vol. VII, sh 109.

(7) Supra, n. 5.

(8) Supra, pp. 237 - 238.

(9) Panchamukhi, ' Dayyamdinne Plates of Vinayāditya - Satyāśraya; Śaka 614,'

EI, vol. XXII, pp. 24 - 29.;

Bhandarkar, D. R., art. et loc. cit.;

EC, vol. XI, Dg. 66.;

Fleet, ' W. Chalukya, Grant of Vinayāditya, S. 616,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 300 - 303.

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(10) Supra, pp. 236 - 237.

(11) Aiyar, K. V. S., op. cit., pp. 128 -130.;

Sircar D. C., ' The Chālukyas,' CA, p. 245.

(12) Fleet, ' Paṭṭadakal Pillar inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. III, pp. 1- 7.

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(13) Gopalan, op. cit., pp. 104 - 105.;

Supra, pp. 232 - 234.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Supra, pp. 156 - 157.

(16) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. II, pp. 6- 12;

Panchamukhi, ' A Copper plate grant of Vinayaditya-Satyāsraya A. D. 693,' Annual Report of Kannada Research in Bombay Province, 1940 - 41,' pp. 9- 10.

(17) Fleet, ' Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. IX, Nos: LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXIX, pp. 125 - 132.

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(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid.

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(21) Ibid.

(22) Somadeva, Kathāsaritasāgara, pp.32 - 36.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Pusalker, Bhāsa - A Study, pp. 264-277.

(25) Supra, n. 17.

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(26) Bhandarkar, D. R., ' Epigraphic Notes and Questions,' IA, vol. XL, p. 240.

(27) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, p. 3.

(28) Fleet, DKD, p. 368.

(29) Vaidya, C. V., op. cit., pp. 336 - 337.;

Majumdar, R. C. ' The Northern India during A. D. 650 - 750,' CA, pp. 128 - 131.

(30) Raychaudhari, H. C., op. cit., pp. 610-11.

(31) Supra, n. 28.

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(32) Khare, 'Nāsik Plates of Jayasiṁha,' SMHD, vol. I, pp. 8 ff.;

Mirashi, 'Nāsik Plates of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha (Kalachuri) Year 436,' CII, vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 127 -131.

(33) Supra, n. 29.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Kalhaṇa, Rājataraṅgiṇī, Introduction pp. 88 - 89.

(36) Supra, n. 29.

(37) Vākpati, Gaudavaho, Introduction, pp. XX - XXVIII.

(38) Ibid.

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((39) Supra, n. 27.

(40) Supra, n. 30.

(41) Bagachi, ' Sino-Indian Relations - The Period of the United Empire,' SIS., vol. I, pp. 71 ff.

(42) Fleet, ' Dēo- Bāranārk Inscription of Jivitagupta II,' CII, vo. III, pp. 213 ff.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Supra, n. 41.

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(45) Fleet, ' Aphsad Inscription of Adityasena,' CII, vol. IV, pp. 200 ff.

(46) Gai, ' Māyalūr Plates of Chālukya Vijayāditya, Śaka 622,' EI, vol. XXXIII, pp. 311 - 315.;

Kielhorn, ' Vakkalēri Plates of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. V, pp. 200- 205.

(47) Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, pp. 557 - 562.

(48) Supra, n. 16.

(49) Fleet, ' W. Chalukya Grant of Vijayāditya,' IA, vol. IX, p. 127, n. 24.

(50) M'Crindle, Ancient India as Described in

Classical Literature, p. 162 and n.1.

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(51) Supra, n. 16.

(52) Nainar, Arab Geographers' knowledge of Southern India, pp. 172 - 179; and note R.

(53) Elliot and Dowson, HIED, vol. I, pp. 12.

(54) Supra, n. 52.

In his India's Diplomatic Relations with the East, Dr. Saletore says that ' this term Kamera or Kavera is to be understood as the Kannada rendering of Khmer.'

(55) Nainar, op. et loc. cit., pp. 183 - 187

(56) Kane, 'Ancient History and Geography of Koṅkaṇa,' POC, vol. I - II, pp. 365 - 392.

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(57) M'Crindle, op. cit., p. 18, n.2.

(58) Jackson, William, ' The Persian Dominions in Northern India, down to the time of Alexander's invasion,' Cambridge History of India, vol. I, pp. 285 - 306.

(59) Mahābhārata, Bhishmaparva, 9, vv. 65 -66.

(60) Kālidāsa, Raghuvaṁśa, Canto IV, vv. 58-65.

(61) Vats and Diskalkar, ' Two Grants of Pṛithvīchandra Bhogaśakti,' EI, vol. XXV, pp 225 - 238.

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(62) Supra, n. 60.

(63) Bāṇa, Harshacharita, p. 50.

(64) Bühler, ' The Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial poetry,' IA, vol. XLII, p. 249.

(65) Dey, Nandalal, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 149.

(66) Ray Chaudhari, H. C. op. cit., p. 628.

(67) Sircar, ' The Chālukyas,' CA, p. 245.

(68) Kosmas, Christian Topography, pp. 118-119.

(69) Hambye, E. R., ' Some Eastern Testimonies concerning Early and Medieval Christianity in India,' PIHC, vol. XXI, pp. 582- 590.;

Moraes, Ibid, Introduction, pp. III to XVI.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Supra, n. 46.

(73) Vākpati, Gaudavaho, vv. 431 - 439.

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(74) Hultzsch, ' Contributions to Singhalese Chronology,' JRAS, 1913, pp. 517 ff.;

Sircar, ' Ceylon, ' CA, pp. 284 ff.

(75) Ibid.;

Mahāvaṁsa, pp. 34 - 38.

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(76) ARSIE, 1934 - 35, App. A., No.22.

(77) Gai, ' Shiggāon Plates of Vijayāditya,' EI, vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff.

(78) Fleet, ' Gudigere Jaina Inscription S. S. 998,' IA, vol. XVIII, pp. 35 -40.

In this inscription Kum-kum-mahādevī is described as 'the younger sister of the glorious Chālukya-Chakravartin - Vijayādityavallabha'(Line 20.).

(79) Supra, n. 77.

(80) Ibid.

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(81) Supra, n. 4.

(82) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, Introduction.

(83) Supra, n. 16.

(84) Supra, n. 82.

(85) Venkataramanayya, N., The Chālukyas of L(V)ēmulavāda, pp. 3-13.

(86) Pampa, Vikramārjunavijaya, Ch. I,;

Rice, 'The Poet Pampa,' JRAS, 1882, pp. 19 - 23.

(87) Altekar, ' The History of the Rāshtrakūṭas,' EHOD, vol. I, pp. 262 - 265.

(88) Fleet, ' Rāshṭrakūṭa Inscription of Dhruva from Paṭṭadakal,' IA, vol. XI, pp. 124 - 125.

(89) Venkataramanayya, N., op. cit., pp. 81 - 82.;

Desai, P.B., APGAS, vol. III, No. 29, pp. 11, 39.

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(90) Ibid.

(91) Supra, n. 88.

(92) Desai, P. B. APGAS., vol. III, No. 116, p. 40.;

ARIE, 1955 - 56, p. 18.;

Sircar, D. C., ' Amudālapādu Plates of Vikramāditya I, ' EI, vol. XXXII, n. 1.

(93) Bhandarkar, D. R. art. et loc. cit.

(94) Sarma Somasekhara, ' The Māyalūr Plates of Vinayāditya,' JOR, vol. X, pp. 27 - 46.

(95) Fleet, ' Togarachedu Plates of Vinayāditya Saka 611,' JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 231 - 33.; 242 - 244.

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(96) Fleet, ' Chalukya grant of Vinayāditya,' IA, vol. VI, pp. 88 - 91.

(97) Supra, pp. 238 - 241.

(98) Ind. Arch., 1957 - 58, p. 57.

(99) Supra, n. 6.

(100) Fleet, ' Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. VI, p. 94;

Fleet, 'Sorāb Copper Plate Grant of Vinayāditya . Saka Samvat. 614 Expired,' IA, vol. XIX, pp.146 - 152.;

EC, vol. XI, Dg. 66.

(101) Supra, n. 98.

(102) Supra, n. 6.

(103) Supra, n. 100.

(104) EC, vol. XI, Dg. 66.

(105) Supra, p. 242.

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(106) Supra, n. 61.

(107) Supra, n. 92.

(108) Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscription," IA, vol. VII, pp. 101 - 112.

(109) Vats, ' Poonā Plates of Chālukya Vinayāditya : Ś. 612,' EI, vol. XXV, pp. 289 - 91.

(110) Ibid.

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(111) Chavannes, ' Notes Additionnelles sur les Tou-kie (Turcs) Occidentaux,' TP, vol. II, pp. 1- 110.;

Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, vol. I, pp. 70-71.;

Bagachi, art. cit.; pp. 65 -84.

Sastri, Nilakanta, Foreign Notices of South India, p. 116.;

Saletore, B. A., op. cit., p. 197.

(112) Chavannes, art. et loc. cit.

(113) The identification of the Chālukya ruler who sent an embassy to China in A. D. 692 with Pulakeśin II (A. D. 609 - 648) suggested by Dr. Bagachi, (art.et loc.cit.) can not be accepted as we know that Pulakeśin was no more after A. D. 648.

(114) Bagachi, art. et loc. cit.

Le Canon Bouddhique En Chine, Tome II, pp. 540 - 550.; India and China, pp. 56 -58.

Dr. Bagachi, however, does not indicate the Chinese sources from which he has extracted this information.

(115) Ibid.

(116) Nanjio, A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka, p. 442.

(117) Supra, n. 111.

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(118) Fleet, Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. VII, 101 - 112.

CHAPTER X

VIJAYĀDITYA.

The next ruler on the Chālukya throne was Vijayāditya,[1] ' the dear son ' of Vinayāditya. In the Paṭṭadakal inscription[2] of the time of his grandson Kīrtivarman II his name appears in a slightly different form of Vijayādityadeva. He seems to have succeeded his father Vinayāditya in the Āshāḍha of Śaka 618 corresponding to July 696.[3] For his inscription at Bādāmi[4] issued on the full-moon day of Jyeshṭha records that his third regnal year fell in Śaka 621 and his inscription at Aihole[5] mentions the occurrence of the phenomenon of Vishuva in the bright half of the month of Aśvayūja in the third month of his thirteenth regnal year. The English date of the former record[6] is twentieth May 699 and that of the latter inscription[7] corresponds to twenty-third September 708. The reign of Vijayāditya extended over the period of about thirty-seven years at the end of which in A. D. 733-34 his son Vikramāditya II[8] is known to have assumed the regal responsibility.

In addition to the imperial Chālukya style of Satyāśraya Śrī-pṛithivīvallabha, Mahārājadhirāja Parameśvara Bhaṭṭāraka,[9] Vijayāditya is also accorded the titles of Niravadya[10] and Samastabhuvanāśraya,[11] 'the refuge of the whole world.'[12] In a lithic record from the Shikarpur taluka of the Shimoga district the monarch bears the appellation of Paramabhaṭṭāraka in place of Bhaṭṭāraka.

Vijayāditya had a long period of apprenticeship which commenced in the reign of his grandfather Vikramāditya I.[13] The story about the capture of Vijayāditya in the northern campaign of his father and his escape from captivity is already mentioned in the previous chapter.[14]

It is worthy of note that the Rāshṭrakūṭas, who supplanted the Chālukyas in Karṇāṭaka make their appearance as feudatories of the Bādāmi house during the reign of Vijayāditya. For in his Ellorā grant[15] which registers the donation of the village Pippalala, identified with the present Pimpral at a distance of about thirty-three miles

to the north-west of Ellora in the Aurangabad district, in the year A. D. 721,[16] Dantidurga, the founder of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa line is described as the ' one, who had obtained the Panchamahāśabda ' - an expression which reveals his feudatory status apparently under Chālukya emperor Vijayāditya.

It must, however, be noted that this connection between the Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas had rather an unpleasant beginning. We are told in the Sanjān[17] plates of Amoghavarsha I, that Indrarāja, the father of Dantidurga ' took (as his bride) by means of the Rākshasa form of marriage the daughter of the Chālukya king on the battle-field in a pavillion[18] made of the shields.' The name of the father of the Chālukya princess married by Indra is not mentioned in this inscription. But the name of the royal princess Bhavagaṇā - is known to us through the Bhandak grant[19] of Indra's brother Krishna I. Since Dantidurga, the offspring of this union, was holding a feudatory position in A. D. 721,[20] the marriage of his father Indra with the Chālukya princess Bhavagaṇā must have taken place some twenty years earlier in

about A. D. 700. Besides the aforementioned Ellorā grant[21] which registers a donation of the village situated in the present district of Aurangabad, there is an undated inscription of Dantidurga outside the cave No. 15 at Ellorā[22] - a circumstance which probably suggests that the principality of Dantidurga lay in this region and it ~~xx~~ is not unlikely that this Rāshṭrakūṭa family sprang from the same region.

A close study of a few other contemporary inscriptions renders invaluable assistance in the proper understanding of the Chalukya - Rāshṭrakūṭa relations and in arriving at a plausible identification regarding the Chālukya king, whose daughter Rāshṭrakūṭa Indrarāja forcibly took in marriage in about A. D. 700.

In the Navasārī charter[23] of Chālukya Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin, his elder brother Vinayāditya Mangalarasa is said to have ' by the might of his arms acquired his own territory.' This latter is known to have held North Konkaṇ at least till A. D. 731.[24]

Similarly, in the eulogist portion of

his Ajaneri[25] plates of A. D. 710 -11, Bhogaśakti, ' an ornament of Konkana with Purī,' who was a feudatory of the Chālukyas, has been described as the one ' who like Bhīmasena has brought under his rule the whole territory of his dominions by (his) displayed valour.'

Yet another significant piece of information is furnished by the second set of Ajaneri[26] plates of this Bhogaśakti, which records the resettlement of 'the Samgiripattana, which had been previously devastated, together with Chandrapurī (and) together with the three hamlets (viz.,) Ambeyapallikā, Savaneyapallikā (and) Maureyapallikā, and also Kamsaripallikā.' These places have been located near present Nasik.[27] But the identity of the enemy who laid these places waste is not revealed in the inscription. True, this second set of the Ajaneri plates[28] is undated but the mention of Tejavarman, who is clearly identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the other Ajaneri grant of A. D. 710 - 11,[29] shows that this second set must have been inscribed within a few years on either side of A. D. 710 - 11.

Evidently, these two viceregal families seem to have suffered a disaster sometime before A. D. 710 - 11, from which they recovered thanks to the valour of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa and Bhogaśakti. Their adversary, it would appear, was the Rāshṭrakūṭa Indrarāja from the Ellora region. This latter seems to have availed himself of the opportunity created by the death of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha, the Chālukya viceroy at Nasik, sometime after A. D. 692,[30] and the confusion in the kingdom before the commencement of Vijayāditya's reign due to his captivity in the north, to make a bid for power. Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa and Bhogaśakti appear to have made an effort to check the aggressive military designs of Indrarāja, who as seen above is known to have come into hostile contact with the Chālukyas, sometime before A. D. 700. It is highly probable that in one of the battles during this period, Indrarāja got the upper hand and, as recorded in the aforementioned Sanjān plates,[31] married a Chālukya princess, probably a daughter of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, on the battle-field by the Rākshasa mode of marriage. Since the marriage could not be dissolved the Chālukyas may have reconciled themselves to the inevitable by entrusting Indrarāja

with the viceroyalty of the region around the present Ellora, in the Aurangabad district, to which Indrarāja's son Dantidurga succeeded sometime before A. D. 721, the year in which his Ellorā plates[32] were issued.

The adjoining region comprising the present district of Nasik was now transferred to the jurisdiction of Bhogaśakti, the viceroy of the Chālukyas in the Konkan who, as is evident from his two Ajaneri[33] grants, placed this territory under the immediate command of a certain Tejavarman.

The hostility with the Pallavas would seem to have been renewed towards the end of Vijayāditya's reign. This is indicated by the recent discovery of a lithic record at Ulchala in the Karnul district, dated in his thirty-fifth regnal year.[34] The inscription registers a gift of the villages of Ulchala and Pariyalu to Durvinīt-Ereyappa of the Ganga family, made by Yuvarāja Vikramāditya while he was returning after the conquest of Kāñchī, having levied tribute from the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman II.[35] In all likelihood Durvinīt-Ereyappa accompanied the

military expedition to Kāñchī and in appreciation of his services was rewarded with the gift of the two villages by Yuvarāja Vikramāditya, who apparently was in ~~the~~ charge of the enterprise.

It may be mentioned in this connection that a prince of the Gaṅga family appears under a slightly modified form, that of Durvinīta-Ereappor, in a litic record from the Mysore district,[36] which has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the reign of the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha (A. D. 725 -776).[37] It is highly probable that the Durvinīta-Ereyeppa figuring in the Chālukya record of A. D. 731[38] and this Durvinīta Ereappor of the latter epigraph[39] are one and the same person.

Now, it is known for a fact that the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha had a son by the name Duggamāra-Ereyappa.[40] It is not impossible that the latter was also known by the name Durvinīta-Ereyappa or that he assumed the title of Durvinīta. If this be true, it follows that in their fight against the Pallavas the Chālukyas were actively assisted by a member of the house of the Gaṅgas with whom, as would presently be seen, they contracted a matrimonial alliance.

In a later Pāṇḍya record Kochchḍaiyan Raṇadhira who ruled from about A. D. 710 to 740 is said to have subdued the Mahārathas in the great city of Maṅgalapuram.[41] Who were these Mahārathas? We know from Hiuen Tsang that the kingdom of Pulakeśin II was known as Mahārāshṭra;[42] further the Aihole praśasti describes Pulakeśin II as the lord of the three Mahārāshṭrakas.[43] The Mahārathas of the Pāṇḍya record were therefore people of Mahārāshṭra who composed for the most part the Chālukya forces. It would follow from this that the Pandyas penetrated as far as Maṅgalapuram, present Mangalore[44] on the west coast, a circumstance which brought the Chālukya forces to the west coast. This part of the country was then ruled over by the Āḷūpas,[45] and Chitravāhana, the contemporary king on the Āḷūpa throne, was probably the brother-in-law of Vijayāditya, who had been entrusted with the administration of the region around present Banavāsi.[46]

Now, a number of lithic records of this period found in the Udipi taluk refer to a strife between Chitravāhana and a certain Raṇasāgara, who also belonged to the Āḷūpa family.[47] This civil

war seems to have dragged on for sometime with varying fortunes.[48] A lithic record in the Sambhakallu temple at Udipi seems to attribute a victory to Chitravāhana when it says that ' during t the trouble of Ranasāgara the lord of the Earth (Dhareg - īśan, viz., Chitravāhana) occupied and entered Udayapura ' and ' Vijananagyas' son Kaltide ..... ascended the abode of heaven, having fought (with) the splendour of a hero on account of Chitravāhana.' But an epigraph at the Mahālingesvara temple at Koṭa in the Udipi taluk records[49] the re-entry of Ranakisara (Rana Sāgara) in Udayapura after fighting with dhareg-īśan meaning obviously Chitravāhana. It would follow from this that Ranasāgara was able for the moment to eject Chitravāhana. It is not unlikely that on this occasion Ranasāgara sought and obtained help of the contemporary Pāṇḍya ruler Kochchadaiyan Ranadhira, with whose family the Ālūpas seem to have had some connection.[50] This Pāṇḍya ruler was of considerable eminence, claiming as he does victories against various powers like the Cholas, Cheras and Gangas.[51] The confederates gained initial success and won the battle of Mangalapuram by virtue of which achievement Kochchadaiyan Ranadhira assumed the

title of Madur-Karuṇāṭakan, ' the sweet-Karṇāṭaka'.[52] But there could be little doubt that the final victory rested with Chitravāhana who must have been supported on this occasion by his overlord and brother-in-law Vijayāditya. We are able to conclude this on the basis of the two lithic records of the time[53] of Kīrtivarman II at the village of Āḍūr near Kasaragod in the extreme south of the South Kanara district.

It is significant that an undated lithic record from the Sorab taluk of the Shimoga district[54] has a boar sculptured on it with two fishes lying one over the other by its side. It is interesting that the sprout of the boar is made to touch the upper fish.[55] This representation of the fishes as lying flat, unlike the usual representation of this well-known Pāṇḍya ensign in a vertical position[56] was perhaps intended to signify the defeat of the Pāṇḍyas. The characters of this stone-epigraph resemble those of the inscription of Chālukya Vinayāditya (A. D. 681 - 696)[57] on the other side of the same stone and hence, on grounds of palaeography, the inscription under consideration may be assigned to the last quarter of the seventh

or to the beginning of the eighth century.[58]

Kalhaṇa, the poet-historian who flourished during the twelfth century of the Christian era, in his history of Kashmir entitled Rājataraṅgiṇī credits king Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa, who ruled over Kashmir from A. D. 724 - 760, with the conquest of the seven Koṅkaṇas.[59] The mention of the seven Koṅkaṇas would show that this was nothing more than conventional praise on the part of the poet, writing centuries later about the achievements of an illustrious member of his patron's family. Moreover, it is well-known that Lalitāditya had his hands full fighting Yaśovarman of Kanauj and that his kingdom was further exposed to the attacks of the Turks on the west and the Tibetans on the east.[60] On the otherhand, there is no evidence that the concluding years of Vijayāditya's reign were clouded by any external aggression of this nature. In actual fact the administration of Koṅkaṇ during this period was in the able hands of Bhogaśakti of the Hariśchandra family[61] and Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa of the Chālukya family.[62]

Vākpati, who was the poet-laureate at the court of Yaśovarman of Kanauj (A. D. 700 - 740),

has credited the latter with the submission of an unnamed king of the Deccan.[63] According to Dr. Majumdar[64] this unnamed monarch was in all likelihood the Chālukya Vijayāditya. It is true that Vijayāditya once fell into the hands of a northern adversary of the Chālukyas, in the course of an expedition to the north in the time of his father Vinayāditya in about A. D. 695 - 96.[65] But the enemy he encountered is to be identified rather with Devagupta of the later Gupta family for whom we have a definite date i.e. A. D. 692 in the Chinese sources,[66] than with Yaśovarman who commenced his reign in about A. D. 700.[67] Moreover, Yaśovarman was preoccupied with guarding the northern frontiers of his empire from the aggressive designs of his powerful northern contemporary king Lalitāditya of Kashmir and could not take the risk of embarking on a southern adventure.[68]

Like his father and grandfather Vijayāditya associated his son Vikramāditya II in the administration of his dominions. Vikramāditya as we have already seen, probably led the expedition against the Pallavas towards the last years of his father's reign.[69] It was at his request that Vijayāditya

made the grant of a village near the present Karhad[70] to a Brāhmaṇa. This grant is registered in a copper-plate charter of Vijayāditya's fourteenth regnal year.[71] The undated Nerur charter was issued[72] by father and son together, and it is worthy of note that in this inscription Vikramāditya like his father is accorded the imperial style of Satyāśraya Śrīpṛithivīvallabha Mahārāja Parameśvara.[73] Yet another undated inscription at Paṭṭadakal[74] likewise registers a joint donation by father and son for the image of Anantaguṇa in the Lokapāleśvara temple.

Vijayaditya took an active part in the administration of the kingdom. In many of his inscriptions he is represented as having encamped at a number of places which would show that he often toured through various parts of the kingdom. Thus on the 8th April 700 he was at Poṭṭalikānagar identified with Patencheru situated at a distance of 18 miles to the north-west of Hyderabad.[75] Two months later we find him issuing his Nerūr plates[76] from the city of Rāsenanagara, presant Rasin in the Karjat taluka of the Ahmednagar district.[77] In A. D. 704 his camp was fixed at Marivasati in Karhāṭaka,

i.e. present Karhad in the Satara district.[78] Three years later on the 20th June 707, corresponding to Vijayāditya's eleventh regnal year, he was present at Paṭṭadakal[79] from which place his Shiggaon plates were issued. Karhad and Paṭṭadakal were again visited[80], the former in A. D. 710 and the latter in about A. D. 731 - 32.[81]

Among his feudatories[82] are found the Bāṇas, the Telugu-Cholas[83] of Renāṇḍu, the Āḷūpas[84], the Sindas[85], the Rāshṭrakūṭas[86], the Sendrakas[87], the Senāvāras[88], a Nandereya, who appears as vijñāpti in the Nerūr grant of A. D. 700, a certain Bhūpāditya mentioned in an epigraph from Danavulapadu[89] (Cuddapah district) and a Upendra who figures as Vijñāpti in the Nerūr charter of the tenth year of Vijayāditya.[90]

Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja known from his Sangalooda[91] and Multāi[92] plates issued in A. D. 693 and A. D. 709 respectively, was the grandson of Govinda who had been won over by Pulakeśin II[93] and held the command over his principality from the present Ellichpur in the Amarāvati district. It is significant that during the reign of Vijayāditya two feudatory Rāshṭrakūṭa families were ruling simultaneously[94], one of Nannarāja in Central India and the other of Dantidurga in the district of

Aurangabad.[96] Dr. Altekar supposed that Nannarāja and his ancestors were the ascendants of Dantidurga and he accordingly assigned Nannarāja to A. D. 630-650,[97] a supposition which becomes unacceptable in the light of our present findings. For one thing, Nannarāja ruled at least till A. D. 709, the year in which he issued the Multāi grant,[98] and for another Dantidurga was already a viceroy of the Chālukyas in A. D. 721 when he made a donation recorded in his Ellorā plates.[99]

Vijayāditya's Sendraka feudatory Viradeva was probably in charge of the region represented by the present district of Khandesh. In his copper-plate charter[100] issued in A. D. 702 - 703, Viradeva is described as Nikumbha Śikhāmaṇi and is said to have been the son of Dantidurga and grandson of Rājan Devaśakti, who may be identical with the Sendraka feudatory of the same name mentioned in the Karnūl grant of Vikramāditya I[101] registered in the latter's tenth regnal year (about A. D. 665). The occurence of the family name Nikumbha in Viradeva's grant is noteworthy,[102] since the Sendraka Jayaśakti[103] who held Khandesh in A. D. 680 also belonged to the Nikumbha family.[104] These plates of

Viradeva were discovered in 1958-59[105] and the places mentioned in them still await identification. However, as they were found in Khandesh[106] the places may be located in the same region. If this be true, it would appear that Sendraka Jayaśakti about whom we know nothing after his plates of A. D. 680,[107] died without leaving an heir and the viceroylty of Khandesh was then entrusted to Viradeva, who may have belonged to a collateral branch of the Sendrakas.

Another family whose scions held responsible administrative position under the Chālukyas were the Sindas. We hear of the Sinda chief Vishnurāja[108] at whose request Vijayāditya in his tenth regnal year issued the charter, unearthed at Kundal in the Satara district. We know of a Sindrasa who held a subordinate position in the present Raichur district of the Andhra Pradesh under Vikramāditya I.[109] But the relationship between the two personages can not be determined owing to paucity of historical records.

Another important family which finds mention in the Chālukya records is that of the

Senāvāras.[110] A certain Senāvāra Arkkesari figures in an inscription[111] of Vijayāditya from the Shikārpur taluk of the Shimoga district. The epigraph, however, is too indistinct to permit of textual reconstruction.[112] A Senāvāra is also mentioned in an epigraph of the Āḷūpa Chitravāhana in the Koppa taluk of the Kadur district.[113] And still later during the reign of Chālukya Vikramāditya Senāvāras served in ministrial position.[114]

Vijayāditya tried to cement the friendly relations of the Chālukya family with the Gaṅgas by entering into a matrimonial alliance with Śrīpurusha (A. D. 725-776),[115] the enterprising Gaṅga contemporary under whom this dynasty was rising to a new prominence. We are told in the Islāmpur plates of Śrīpurusha's son Vijayāditya that his mother Vijayamahādevī[116] came of the Chālukya family. It is not improbable that Vijayamahādevī was a daughter of the Chālukya Vijayāditya and that in keeping with the practice common in those days her son was named after his Chālukya grandfather.

A lithic record of his grandson[117]

Kīrtivarman II credits, Vijayāditya with the construction of the Śaiva temple called Vijayeśvara at Paṭṭadakal, apparently named after the Chālukya sovereign. But some of the contemporary inscriptions inside the temple also mention private contributions towards the construction of the temple. Thus three of the pillars were donated by Chalabbe, a dancing-girl of the temple,[118] one by the Śaiva saint Vidyārāśi,[119] and two by a certain person whose name is not clear in the inscription.[120] Accordingly, though the construction of the temple was undertaken at state expense, private donations were not unwelcome.

Besides Śaivism other religions also shared Vijayāditya's bounty. Thus we are told in the Shiggāon plates[121] that he donated lands to a Jaina monastery which was being constructed by his sister Kum-kum-Mahādevī. Similarly, a Jaina priest called Jayadevapaṇḍita[122] was granted a village named Sembolala for the maintenance of a shrine of Jinabhaṭṭāraka inside the Jaina temple known as the Śaṅkha-Jinālaya.

In like manner Vijayāditya's mother Vinayavati installed the images of the gods Brahmā,

Vishnu and Maheśvara in a temple at Bādāmi.[123] Viṇāpoti, probably a dancing-girl, who is described as ' the heart's delight of king Vijayāditya ' performed the Hiraṇyagarbha mahādāna, and donated a silver umbrella and a ruby-pedestal to the temple of the God Mukuṭeśvara together with a field for the upkeep of the religious worship.[124]

According to the tradition[125] preserved in the epigraphs of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, Vijayāditya had,besides Vikramāditya II another son named Bhīma, from whom the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī claimed a direct descent.

Thus did Vijayāditya endeavour to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of his kingdom. In the Paṭṭadakal inscription[126] of his grandson Kīrtivarman he is described as the one ' possessed of a mind that was free from (the contaminations of) the Kali age; like a very Raghu promoting the increase of the race of the Chālukyas, ever delighting in charity, like (Karṇa) the son of the Sun; characterised by impetuosity like Vṛikodara.' [127].

N O T E S.

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(1) Gai, ' Māyalūr Plates of Chālukya Vijayāditya, Śaka 622,' EI, vol. XXXIII, pp. 311 - 314.

The word Vijayāditya literally means ' the Sun of Victory.'

(2) Fleet, ' Paṭṭadakal Inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. III, pp. 1- 7.

(3) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, pp. 3 ff.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Fleet, ' Inscription of Vijayāditya at Aihole,' IA, vol. VIII, pp. 284 ff.

(6) Supra, n. 3.

(7) Fleet, DKD, p. 370, n. 5; p. 372.

(8) For the Śaka 656 corresponding to A. D. 735 was the second regnal year of Vikramāditya II is known to us from his Laxmeśvara record (Fleet, IA, vol. VII, pp. 101 ff.).

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(9) Supra, n. 1.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Fleet, ' Inscription of Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, ' IA, vol. X, pp. 60 - 61.; EC, vol. VII, p. 255.

(13) Supra, p. 236.

(14) Supra, 268 - 270.

(15) Dikshit, S. K., ' Ellorā Plates of Dantidurga : Śaka 663,' EI, vol. XXV, pp. 25 - 31.

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(16) Ibid.

Prof. Dikshit read the numerical symbols supplying the date of the grant as,663 and considering it to be a Śaka Year arrived at A. D. 741 as the corresponding date. Dr. Mirashi, however, in his paper entitled ' The Date of the Ellorā plates of Dantidurga' submitted to the fifteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference and published in JBBRAS, vol. XXVI, pp. 163 ff. read the numerals as 463 and supposing it to be a grant dated in the Kalachuri era, comes to A. D. 715 as the date of the inscription. Dr. Gai, however, critically examined the arguments put forward by Dr. Mirashi and rejected the date arrived at by the latter scholar. Dr. Gai, while, he reads the numerical symbols as 643, agrees with Prof. Dikshit in,considering it to be a date in Śaka Era, thus arriving at the year A. D. 721 as the date of the Ellorā grant -- a view which has been accepted by us in this work.(Gai, G.S., 'On the date of the Ellorā Plates of Dantidurga,') POC, vol. XVI, pp. 205 - 208.

(17) Bhandarkar, D. R., ' Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarsha I : Śaka-Samvat 793,' EI, vol. XVIII, pp. 243 ff.

(18) Mirashi, Studies in Indology, vol. II, pp. 22, n. 3.

(19) Sukthankar, V. S., ' Bhandak Plates of Kṛishnarāja I : Śaka : 694,' EI, vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

(20) Supra, ns. 15 - 16.

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(21) Ibid.

(22) Burgess, ASWI, vol. V, pp. 87 - 89.

(23) Mirashi, ' Navasārī Plates of Pulakeśirāja,' CII, vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 137 - 145.

(24) Supra, pp. 240 - 241.;

Bhagawanlal Indraji, JBBRAS, vol. XVI, p.5.

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(25) Vats and Diskalkar, ' Two Grants of Pṛithivīchandra Bhogaśakti,' EI, vol. XXV, pp. 225 ff.;

Mirashi, CII, vol. IV, pt.I, No. 31.

(26) Mirashi, op. et loc. cit, No.32.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Ibid, No. 31.

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(30) Ibid., pp. lxiii, cxci.

(31) Supra, n. 17.

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(32) Supra, n. 15.

(33) Supra, ns. 25 - 26.

(34) AI, No. 5, p. 54.

(35) Ibid.

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(36) ASMAR, 1930, pp. 176 - 178.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Supra, n. 34.

(39) Supra, n. 36.

(40) EC, vol. X, Sp. 65.;

Ibid., Mb. 80.

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in his paper entitled ' Nandivarman II Pallavamalla,' read at the fifteenth session of the Indian History Congress, pp. 123 - 129; identifies Durvinīta-Ereyappa of the Ulchala inscription of Vijayāditya with Duggamāra - Ereyappa, the son of Śrīpurusha.

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(41) Sastri H. Krishna, ' Velvikudi Grant of Nedunjadaiyan : the third year of reign,' EI, vol. XVII, pp. 291 - 309.;

Venkayya, ARSIE, 1908, pp. 50 ff.;

Sastri Nilakanta, The Pāndyan Kingdom, pp. 55 - 56 , 258.

(42) Watters, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 239 ff.

(43) Kielhorn, ' Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II : Śaka- Samvat 556,' EI, vol. VI, pp. 1 - 12.

(44) Sastri, Nilakanta, op.et loc. cit pp. 55.

(45) Hultzsch, ' Ālūpa Inscriptions at Udiyāvara,' EI, vol. IX, pp. 15 - 24.;

Saletore, Ancient Karnāṭaka, pp. 57 ff.

(46) Supra, p. 278.

(47) Hultzsch, art . et loc. cit.;

Saletore, op. et loc. cit., pp. 83 -92.

That Chitravāhana, the governor of Banavāsi, and the person of the same name in the inscriptions found at Udipi were identical is indicated by the striking similarity between the characters of the Chālukya records where he is mentioned and those of the Ālūpa inscriptions found in the Udipi taluka.

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(48) Hultzsch, art. et loc. cit., p- 18.

(49) ARSIE, 1928 - 29, 505.;

Saletore, op. et loc. cit., p. 36.

(50) In the Shiggāon plates of Vijayāditya Ālūpa Chitravāhana is described as the ' one who decorates the spotless family of the Pāṇḍyas;' पांड्यामलकुल अलंकुर्वत (EI, vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff.). Raṇasāgara may have been a brother or a near relation of his, though, the relationship between the two is not anywhere specifically stated.

(51) Supra, n. 41.

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(52) Ibid.

(53) Fleet, ' Inscriptions of Kīrtivarman,' IA, vol. XI, pp. 68 ff.;

Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, pp. 4-8.

(54) MAR, 1910 - 11, p. 40.

(55) Ibid.

(56) Ibid.

(57) Ibid.;

EC, vol. VIII, Sorab : 15.

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(58) Supra, n. 54.

(59) Kalhaṇa, Rājatarangiṇī, vol. I, Introduction, pp. 88 - 91.

(60) Ibid.

(61) Supra, ns. 25 and 26.

(62) Supra, pp. 240 - 241.

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(63) Vākpati, Gaudavaho, Intro, p. XXV, verse: 423, p. 122.

(64) Majumdar, R. C., ' Northern India during A. D. 650 - 750,' CA, pp. 129 - 30.

(65) Supra, pp. 268 - 270.

(66) Supra, pp. 272 - 273.

(67) Majumdar, art.et loc. cit., p. 131.

(68) Ibid, pp. 130 - 131.

(69) Supra, n. 34.

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(70) Sankalia, ' A Copper-plate Grant of Chalukya Vijayāditya Saka 632,' EI, vol. XXVI, pp. 322 - 326.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Fleet, 'W. Chalukya Grant of Vijayāditya,' IA, vol. IX, pp. 132 ff.

(73) Ibid.

(74) Fleet, ' Inscription of Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya II, at Paṭṭadakal,' IA, vol. X, pp. 165 - 166.

(75) ARSIE, 1941 - 42, p. 32, App. A. No.6.;

Supra, n. 1.

(76) Fleet, 'W. Chalukya Grant of Vijayāditya, Śaka 622,' IA, vol. IX, pp. 125 ff.

(77) Fleet, DKD, p. 372.

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(78) Pathak, K. B., 'Rāyagad Plates of Vinayāditya,' EI, vol. X, pp. 14 - 17.

(79) Gai, ' Shiggāon Plates of Vijayāditya,' EI, vol.XXXII, pp. 317 ff.

(80) Supra, n. 70.

(81) Upadhyaya, ' A Grant of the Western Chālukya Vijayāditya : Śaka 653,' EI, vol. XXV, pp. 21 - 25.

(82) ARSIE, 1921, App. B. No. 333.;

SII, vol. IX, pt. I, p. 27.

(83) Ind. Arch., 1958 - 59, p. 57.

(84) Supra, n. 79.

(85) Khare, ' A Note on three Copper-plate Grants,' PIHC, vol. XVII, pp. 133 ff.

(86) Venkataramaṇayya, M., ' Sangalooda Plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja, Śaka 615,' EI, vol. XXIX, pp. 109 ff.;

Fleet, ' Multāi Copper-plate Grant of Nannarāja Śaka 631, ' IA, vol. XVIII, pp. 230 - 36.;

Supra, pp. 296 - 301.

(87) ARIE, 1957 - 1958, pp. 1-2. A.13.

(88) EC, vol. VII, Sk. 278.

(89) Supra, n. 76.

(90) ARSIE, 1905 - 1906, App. B. No. 339.;
SII, vol. IX, pt. I, p. 28.

(91) Fleet, 'W. Chalukya Grant of Vijayāditya, S. 627,'
IA, vol. IX, pp. 130 - 132.

(92) Supra, n. 86.

(93) Ibid.

(94) Supra, pp. 117 - 123.

(95) Supra, n. 86.

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(96) Supra, pp. 296 - 301.;
Mirashi, Studies in Indology, vol. II, pp. 16 -24.

(97) Altekar, ' The History of the Rāshṭrakūṭas,' EHOD, p. 250.

(98) Supra, n. 86.

(99) Supra, n. 15.

(100) Supra, n. 87.

(101) Fleet, ' Karnūl Plates of the tenth year of Vikramāditya I,'
JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 227 - 229, 238 - 239.

(102) Supra, n. 87.

(103) Mirashi, 'Mundakhede Plates of Sendraka Jayaśakti, Saka 602,'
EI, vol. XXIX, pp. 203 ff.

(104) Ibid.

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(105) Supra, n. 87.

(106) Ibid.

(107) Supra, n. 103.

(108) Supra, n. 85.

(109) Supra, pp. 243 - 244.

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(110) Supra, n. 88.

(111) Ibid.

(112) Ibid.

(113) EC, vol. VI, Kp. 37.

(114) Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, pp. 148 -149.

(115) Krishna Rao, M. V., op.cit., pp. 50-60.

(116) Sten Konow and Pathak, K. B. ' Spurious Islāmapur Plates of the Gaṅga king Vijayāditya, the 30th year,' EI, vol. XII, pp. 48 - 55.

In his letter in answer to my querry, regarding these plates Dr. Gai writes, ' In my opinion, these plates can be regarded as genuine though the editors have taken them to be spurious.'

(117) Supra, n.2.

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(118) Fleet, ' Inscription in the temple of Saṅgameśvara at Paṭṭadakal,' IA, vol. X, p. 170.

(119) Ibid, p. 169.

(120) Ibid, p. 170.

(121) Supra, n. 79.

(122) Fleet, ' Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 101 - 112.

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(123) Supra, n. 3.

(124) Fleet, ' Inscription of Vijayāditya at Mahākuṭa,' IA, vol. X, pp. 102 ff.

(125) Fleet, ' Yewūr Inscription of Vikramāditya VI., Śaka 999,' IA, vol. VIII, p. 14 n.1.

According to Fleet Bhīma was the name of the younger son of Vijayāditya while Prof. Nilakanta Sastri is of the opinion that the name of this younger son of Vijayāditya is not mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kalyāṇi Chāḷukyas which merely describe him as strong as Bhīma ('The Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi,' EHOD, p. 318.).

(126) Supra, n. 2.

(127) The year A. D. 716 is traditionally accepted by the Parsees as the date of their arrival at Sanjan, twenty-five miles south of Daman in the district of Thana (Davar, F. C. Iran and India through the Ages, p. 104.). But the internal evidence supplied by the Persian poem entitled Quisseh - i - Sanjān, ' the Episode of Sanjan,' the earliest known work dealing with the subject, points to A. D. 785 as the date of the arrival of Parsees at Sanjan (This work is translated into English by Eastwick, E.B. in the JBBRAS, vol. I, pp.167-191). This poem was written by a Parsee priest of Navasari named Behman

Kaiquobad Hormazdyar Sanjan (Davar, F. C., op. cit., p.103). The relevant facts of the poem are as follows (Eastwick, art.cit):

When the Arabs conquered Persia, some pious souls escaped and established themselves for a hundred years at Kuhistān, evidently the mountainous region of Khorasan. Finding the Arabs on their track, they started for the port of Hormūz, where they stayed for fifteen years. As they did not feel confident of their safety, they resolved to quit this place also. From the port of Hormūz they embarked on a ship and came to Div, a small island-town off the Gulf of Cambay, where they stayed for nineteen years. Looking for a better place they were very probably sailing southwards making either for Broach which was a flourishing commercial centre, or rather for Kalyana, which was the Bombay of those days where they had already been preceeded centuries before by their countrymen albeit of a different faith (In his Christian Topography, pp. 118 - 119. Kosmas mentions a Christian church at Kalyana. The bishop attached to this Church was appointed from Persia.).

If the end of the reign of king Yezdezard, which is placed in A. D. 651 (Malcolm, History of Persia, vol. I, p. 178), may be taken as the starting point of their wandering, we may accept A. D. 785 as the year of their landing at Sanjan. The poem gives the following itenarary of these Parsee ' Pilgrim Fathers:'

The end of Yezdezārd's reign A.D.651.
Period of stay in Kohistan 100 years
Period of stay in Hormuz 15 years
Period of stay in Div 19 years.
Arrival at Sanjan A. D. 785.

But this date as well as the traditional date A. D. 716 for the landing of Parsees at Sanjan has been called into question by several scholars who suggest widely different dates for the event. Thus, while M. B. Davar suggests A. D. 850, S. H. Hodivala (Studies in Parsi History) and I. J. S. Taraporewala (' The Parsis,' The Age of Imperial Kanauj, pp. 351 -53.) fix A. D. 936 as the date of the advent of Parsees at Sanjan.

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CHAPTER XI

VIKRAMĀDITYA II.

Vijayāditya was succeeded by his 'dear son'[1] Vikramāditya II whose name appears in a slightly different form of Vikramādityadeva[2] in the Paṭṭadakal epigraph of the time of Kīrtivarman II. In his Narwan plates[3] he is given the full regal style of Satyāśraya Śrī-pṛithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Bhaṭṭāraka.

Vikramāditya II must have ascended the throne in about A. D. 733- 34, for his Laxmeśvara epigraph dated in Śaka 656 approximately corresponding to A. D. 735 was issued in his second regnal year.[4] The earliest known date for his son Kīrtivarman II, the next and the last known ruler of the Bādāmi house, is furnished by the Ainuli grant[5] registered during the latter's fourth regnal year corresponding to Śaka 671, i.e. A.D. 748. This gives Vikramāditya II a short reign of about eleven years from A. D. 733-34 to A. D. 744 - 45.

During the early years of Vikramāditya's

kingship a formidable invasion of the Tājikas or Arabs was repelled by Chālukya Pulakeśin, who was holding the viceroyalty of Gujarāt.[6] The Navasārī grant[7] of Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin which gives this piece of information says:

> ' The army of the Tājikas ..... which destroyed the prosperous Saiṅdhava, Kachchhella, Saurāshṭra, Chāvoṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings; which, desiring to enter Dakshiṇāpatha with a view to vanquish all southern kings, came in the very first place, to conquer the vishaya of Navasārikā; ..... was defeated in the fore-front of the battle in which headless trunks began a circular dance to the accompaniment of the loud noise of drums beaten continuously in joy, caused as it were, by the thought " To-day at least we have, by laying down our heads, paid off the debt we owed to our lord in (this) one life! " '

This undoubtedly was a remarkable victory and in appreciation of the invaluable services rendered by Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin, the grateful Vallabha-narendra, apparently Vikramāditya II, conferred on the victor the four titles, viz., Dakshiṇāpathasādhāra, 'the pillar of the Deccan,' Chalukkikulāṅkāra, ' the ornament of the Chālukya family'; Pṛithivīvallabha, 'the lover of the Earth' and Anivartakanivartayitri, ' the Repellar of the

unrepellable.'[8] The graphic and detailed description of the battle in the Navasārī grant (A.D.739) would suggest that the record was composed soon after the fight. This setback to the Muslim progress in the days of Tamin, who succeeded Junaid to the governorship of Sindh in A. D. 726, is acknowledged by the Arab chronicler Al-Bilāduri when he says that the ' Musalmans retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions.'[9]

Flushed with victory the Chālukyas under Vikramāditya II marched southwards intent on reviving the old feuds with the Pallavas. The Pallava kingdom was then passing through troubled times consequent on the death of Parameśvravarman II, which must have occured sometime between A. D. 730-31 and A. D. 741 - 42. The lower limit for the event is fixed by Vijayāditya's Ulchala inscription[10] of A. D. 730 - 31, which records the return of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (II) after levying tribute from Parameśvaravarman II, and the upper limit by Vikramāditya II's Narwan charter[11] of A. D. 741 - 42, which describes his victory against Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The latter was a member of a

collateral line of the Pallavas who succeeded Parameśvaravarman II to the Kāñchī throne, when merely a child of twelve years.[12] It would appear that the unsettled political condition in the Pallava kingdom and the presence of an inexperienced ruler on the Kāñchī throne provided an excellent opportunity for Vikramāditya II to conduct a military expedition against these implacable enemies of his family. His Narwan charter which describes this expedition states[13] that Vikramāditya resolved ' to uproot the Pallava king, his natural foe (prakṛityāmitra), who had robbed of splendour the former kings of his line.' He marched into the Tundāka (Pallava) country with lightning speed and ' beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king, Nandipotavarman,[14] As a result the Pallava monarch had to forfeit his distinctive musical instruments - the Kaṭumukhaviditra and the samudraghosha - and abandon to the victor the ' Khaṭavāṅga-dhvaja, many excellent and well-known intoxicated elephants and a heap of rubies which dispelled darkness by the brilliancy of the multitude of their rays.'[15] He then entered the city of Kāñchī, which in the picturesque language

of the poet ' was as it were a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south.'[16]

The city was not given to plunder and the Brāhmaṇas as well as the poor and the helpless rejoiced at the uninterrupted liberality of the emperor, while the temples shared in his bounty with heaps of gold made over to them.[17]

The triumphal entry of the emperor into the capital of the enemy and the restoration of wealth to the temples could not have been an empty boast. There is in fact a Kannada inscription of Vikramāditya II, inscribed on a pillar in the Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Kāñchī, which records the actual restoration of the wealth to the temple by the Chālukya monarch subsequent to his conquest of the Pallava capital.[18]

This invasion of the Pallava kingdom must have taken place sometime after Vikramāditya's accession in A. D. 733 - 34 and before A. D. 741 -42, when the event finds mention in his aforementioned Narwan charter.[19]

In his enterprise against the Pallavas, Vikramāditya II was assisted by Śrīpurusha, the

most powerful Gaṅga ruler of the times. The basis for our surmise is a lithic record[20] at the village of Jangamarahalli in the Pavagada taluka of the Tumkur district in Mysore, which was inscribed 'on the occasion of Vikramāditya and Konguṇi Arasar falling on Kaḍuvetṭi and taking Kāñchī.' Though this is an undated and mutilated record it can be ascribed on grounds of palaeography to the eighth century of the Christian era or to the beginning of the 9th century.[21] Consequently, the Konguṇi Arasar of the epigraph is none other than Gaṅga Śrīpurusha who ruled from A. D. 725 - 776,[22] while Vikramāditya of the record refers obviously to latter's contemporary the Chālukya king Vikramāditya II, who, moreover, is known to have carried out a successful invasion against Kāñchī.

Vikramāditya II is next said to have 'distressed Pāṇḍya, Chola, Kerala and Kaḷabhra and other kings by the extent of his valour which could not be withstood, and erected a pillar of victory in the form of his great fame, as bright as the cloudless autumnal moon, in the southern ocean full of rolling waves.'[23] Prof. Pathak is probably right when he remarks[24] that Vikramāditya

did not set up a pillar of victory, only his fame which spread to the shores of the southern ocean is compared to such a pillar.'

The Chālukyas followed up their victory and before long dealt another blow to the Pallavas. On this occasion the Chālukyas were led by Vikramāditya II's son, Yuvarāja Kīrtivarman.[25] The Kendūr and the Vakkaleri[26] plates of the latter which impart this information record that as a Yuvarāja he sought permission of his royal father to put down their family foe (sva-kula-vairiṇah), the lord of the Pallavas. Kīrtivarman ' led an expedition, defeated the Pallava king in every expedition, defeated the Pallava king in every quarter, who unable to meet him in an open field had taken refuge in a fort, made him powerless, took many rutting elephants, gold and crores of rubies and delivered them to his father.'[27] This seems to be the last of the three conquests of Kāñchi claimed on behalf of her royal hasband Vikramāditya II in a lithic epigraph at Paṭṭadakal by his queen Lokamahādevī.[28] It may here be recalled that of the three conquests of Kāñchi by Vikramāditya, the first was won against the Pallava Parameśvaravarman II, and is mentioned in the Ulchala inscription of Vijayāditya,[29] while the second was won against

Nandivarman Pallavamalla and is recorded in his Narwan charter of A. D. 741 - 42.[30]

A viragal at the village of Hire-Madhure in the Challakere taluka of the Chitaldrug district assigned to the eighth century A. D. on grounds of palaeography records the death of a hero named Śrī-Dāsiamman, ' who pierced eleven (warriors) and who was a servant of Konguṇi-Arasar, while..... arasar (dependant) of Vikramāditya arasar was capturing Kāñchī.[31] Konguṇi-Arasar and Vikramāditya arasar of the viragal undoubtedly represent Gaṅga Śrīpurusha and Chālukya Vikramāditya II who flourished in the eighth century, but the identity of ..... arasar (king) who was capturing Kāñchī under the latter Chālukya ruler remains uncertain as the characters representing the name of this individual are effaced.

It is worthy of note that another viragal at the same place and assigned to the same period mentions Kattiarasar and Konguṇi-Arasar.[32] We have already seen that Kattiarasa was the name of Kīrtivarman I,[33] who ruled during the second half of the sixth century and therefore the latter can not be identical with the Kattiarasar of the viragal ascribed to the eighth century. Now, we know from

his Didgūr record[34] that Kīrtivarman II was also known by the name Kattiyāradeva which appears to be merely a variant of the name Kattiarasa. It is highly probable that like his ancestor of the same name Kīrtivarman II also bore the name Kattiarasa. Moreover, it is a known fact that Kīrtivarman II fought at Kāñchī on behalf of Vikramāditya II.[35] Under the circumstances it is all the more probable that the missing letters before ' ..... rasaru ' in the first viragal are 'Kattia' and therefore the original inscription would read ' Vikramāditya rasara Kattiarasaru,' i.e. Kattiarasar of Vikramādityarasar meaning Kattiarasar the son of Vikramāditya. If this be true, this viragal[36] at the village of Hire-Madhure would be yet another instance disclosing consistent alliance between the Chālukyas and the Gaṅgas against the Pallavas.

An epigraph inscribed in the 15th year (c. A.D. 748) of Nandivarman Pallavamalla at Mallam in the Gudur taluka of the Nellore district registers a gift of gold to a temple which had been built there at the request of Āḷūva-arasar by order of the Chaḷukki-arasar.[37] It would appear that

the army of the Chaḷukki-arasar, who may be identified with Vikramāditya II or his son Kīrtivarman II, probably passed through this part of the district of Nellore, either on its way to Kāñchī or on its way back from there.

The Sālem grant[38] of Gaṅga Śrīpurusha issued in Śaka 693 brings to light the matrimonial alliances contracted during this period between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Chālukyas on the one hand and between the Gaṅgas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas on the other. We are told that Duggamāra, a son of the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha, married Kāñchīyabbā whose father was Govindarāja of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.[39] Her mother was Vinayavatī who was a daughter of Vikramāditya, who is described as 'chatur-dig-adhipa,' i.e. ' lord of the four directions ' and must therefore have been the Chālukya emperor.[40] The inscription also gives the names of the father and the grandfather of Govindarāja respectively Śivarāja and Nannappa.[41]

The Narwan Chatter[42] of Vikramāditya II issued in the year A. D. 741 - 42 from his victorious camp at Ādityavāḍe, i.e., Aitavade

in the Satara district, records the grant of the village Naravaṇa, present Narwan in the Ratnagiri district, at the request of Govindarāja who is described as a son of Rāshṭrakūṭa Śivarāja. There can hardly be any doubt that this Govindarāja was the same as the Govindarāja appearing in the above mentioned Sālem grant.[43]

Since Govindarāja was a contemporary of Vikramāditya II in the second quarter of the eighth century A. D. his grandfather Nannappa and his father Śivarāja may respectively be assigned to the last quarter of the seventh century and to the first quarter of the eighth century.[44] It may be recalled in this connection that Nannarāja, a feudatory of the Chālukyas who belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, ruled over the Berar region from A. D. 680 - 710. We may identify this Nannarāja with Nannappa, the grandfather of Govindarāja of the Narwan and the Sālem plates.[45][46] It is possible that Govinda or Śivarāja was a younger son of the family and entered the services of the Chālukyas in South Konkan. On the otherhand it may well be that they belonged altogether to a third Rāshṭrakūṭa family, holding a subordinate position under the Bādāmi Chālukyas.

The second matrimonial alliance mentioned in the Sālem grant[47] was between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gaṅgas. We are told that Kāñchīyabbā, who was a daughter of Rāshṭrakūṭa Govindarāja and Vinayavatī, was given in marriage to Duggamāra, a son of Gaṅga Śrīpurusha. Vinayavatī, it will be remembered,[48] was a daughter of Vikramāditya II, and Duggamāra was his nephew.

Vikramāditya took in marriage the two Haihaya princesses Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī who were uterine sisters.[48] The former built the Śaiva temple of Lokeśvara now known as the Virūpāksha temple to commemmorate the resounding victories of her husband.[50] The temple betrays Pallava influence and was built by Śrī Guṇḍa Anivāritāchāri, the architect who is described in an inscription in the temple as temkan diśeya sūtradhāri., i.e., ' the architect of the Southern region.'[51] Vikramāditya and Lokamahādevī presented him with the fillet of honour called the ' Mūme-perjjerepu paṭṭa ' and conferred on him the higher title of Tribhuvanāchārya.[52] The temple itself was richly endowed by the queen with incomes from the district of Nāreyangaḷḷa[53] 50. Queen Trailokyamahādevī also

erected a large stone temple of Trailokyeśvara, now known as the Mallikārjuna temple, in the vicinity of the Lokeśvara temple.[54]

Vikramāditya did not confine his munificence to Brāhmanical institutions alone. An epigraph[55] at Laxmeśvara records the restoration of a Jaina temple known as ' White Jinālaya ' and grant of some land for the purposes of the worship of Jinendra, thus showing the catholicity of religious outlook on the part of Vikramāditya II.

In keeping with the ancient tradition Vikramāditya made donations to Brāhmaṇas. The villages of Naravaṇa and Chindramāḍa, lying by the sea-shore in the Chiprarūlaṇa-vishaya, present Chiplūṇ taluka in the Ratnagiri district were donated in favour of a group of Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Veda and Vedāṅgas.[56]

Unlike Pallava Narasiṁhavarman who indulged in wanton destruction of Vātāpi,[57] Vikramāditya II not only showed a commendable restraint in his treatment of the Pallava capital of Kāñchīpuram but he actually restored the heaps

of gold to the temple of Rājasimheśvara,[58] which had been presumably despoiled by his army officers during the invasion.[59]

N O T E S.

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(1) Khare, 'Narwan Plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya II,' EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 125 - 131.; BISMQ, vol X, pp. 12 ff.

(2) Fleet, ' Paṭṭadakal pillar Inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. III, pp. 1-7.

(3) Supra, n. 1.

(4) Fleet, ' Laxmeśvara Inscription of Vikramāditya II,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 101 ff.

(5) ASMAR, 1909, p. 12 a.

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(6) Bhagavanlal Indraji, Vienna, Ori. conf. Rept., pp. 230 ff.;

Mirashi, ' Navasārī Plates of Pulakeśirāja,' CII, vol. IV, pt. I, No.30.

(7) Ibid.

Page : 329.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Elliot and Dowson, HIED, vol. I, p. 126.

(10) AI, No.5, p.54.

(11) Supra, n. 1.

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(12) Minakshi, MASI, No. 63, p. 34.

(13) Supra, n.1.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

Page: 331.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Hultzsch, ' Kāñchī inscription of Vikramāditya II,' EI, vol. III, pp. 359 ff.

(19) Supra n. 1.

Page : 332.

(20) ASMAR, 1941, pp. 220 - 221.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Krishna Rao, M. V., op. cit., 51 - 63.

(23) Supra, n. 1.

(24) Pathak, ' Kendūr Plates of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. IX, pp. 200 ff.

Page : 333.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Rice, ' The Chālukyas and Pallavas,' IA, vol. VIII, pp. 23 - 29.;

Kielhorn, ' Vakkalēri Plates of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. V, pp. 200 - 205.

(27) Supra, ns. 24 and 26.

(28) Fleet, ' Inscription of Lokamahādevī queen of Vikramāditya II, at Paṭṭadakal,' IA, vol. X, pp. 164 - 165.

(29) Supra, n. 10.

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(30) Supra, n. 1.

(31) ASMAR, 1939, pp. 121 - 125.

(32) Ibid, pp. 117 - 121.

(33) Supra, p. 77.

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(34) Fleet, ' Three Inscriptions in the Dhārwār District,'
EI, vol. VI, pp. 251 ff.; p. vii.;

Gai, ' Note on the Didgūr record of Kattiyāra,'
EI, vol. XXXIII, pp. 309 ff.

(35) Supra, ns. 24 and 26.

(36) Supra, n. 31.

(37) Butterworth and Venugopal, Chelty
NI, G. 54., pp. 429 - 430.

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(38) Gai, G. S., ' Sālem Plates of Gaṅga Śrīpurusha : Śaka 693,'
EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 145 - 152.;

' Note on the Sālem Plates of Gaṅga Śrīpurusha,'
Ibid, pp. 335 - 336.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Ibid.

(42) Supra, n. 1.

Page : 337.

(43) Supra, n. 38.

(44) Supra, p. 123.

(45) Supra, n. 1.

(46) Supra, n. 38.

Page : 338.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Supra, n.2.

(50) Supra, n. 28.

(51) Ibid.

(52) Fleet, ' Inscription of Lokamahādevī Queen of Vikramāditya II, at Paṭṭadakal,' IA, vol. X, p. 164.

(53) Fleet, ' Inscription of Vikramāditya II in the Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭadakal,' IA, vol. X, p. 167.

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(54) Supra, n. 2.

(55) Supra, n. 4.

(56) Supra, n. 1.

(57) Supra, p. 157.

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(58) Supra, f. ns. 1, 18, 24 and 26.

CHAPTER XII

KĪRTIVARMAN II.

Kīrtivarman II, ' the dear son ' and successor of Vikramāditya II is the last known ruler of the Bādāmi house of the Chālukyas. The coronation of Kīrtivarman II must have taken place sometime in A. D. 744 - 45, for the Ainuli grant was issued during his fourth regnal year in the month of Āshāḍha of Ś. S. 671 corresponding to May 748,[1] while the Kendūr plates which were issued during his sixth current year register the donation of a village on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 672, corresponding to 7th April A. D. 749.[2] The last known date for Kīrtivarman is furnished by the Vakkalēri grant[3] which was issued during his eleventh regnal year on the full-moon day of Bhādrapada, apparently of Śaka year 677. Since the solar eclipse mentioned in his Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription occured on the new-moon day of Śrāvaṇa in Śaka 677 corresponding to 25th June 754,[4] the English date of the Vakkalēri plates which were issued only 15 days later on the

full-moon day of Bhādrapada[5] of the same Śaka year would be the 10th of July 754.

It is worthy of note that in the latter inscription the first word describing the Śaka year is not legible.[6] Mr. Rice[7] and Dr. Kielhorn[8] proposed to read it as nava, i.e. nine and accordingly, suggested 679 to be the Śaka year corresponding the eleventh regnal year of Kīrtivarman II. Dr. Fleet[9] endorsed this view and 7th September 757 was considered the English date for the grant. This amended reading of the Vakkalēri grant which would make Śaka 679 the eleventh year of Kīrtivarman's reign, however, does not correspond to Śaka 672 which was the sixth year of his reign as recorded in the aforementioned Kendūr plates which are perfectly legible throughout.[10] Moreover, the latter charter mentions a lunar eclipse whose date admits of varification.[11] Under these circumstances the illegible word describing the Śaka year in the Vakkalēri charter would represent number 7 and not 9 as proposed by Rice,[12] Kielhorn[13] and Fleet.[14] The year 677 of the Śaka era which is described as the eleventh regnal year of Kīrtivarman II in his Vakkalēri grant[15] perfectly agrees with the varifiable

date of his Kendūr[16] grant which describes Śaka 672 as his sixth regnal year.

Kīrtivarman's name appears in a slightly different form of Kīrtivarmarasa in his Āḍūr inscriptions.[17] On the basis of a hero-stone record at the village of Hire-Madhure[18] in the Challakere taluka of the Chitaldrug district we have already shown that, like his ancestor of the same name, Kīrtivarman II also bore the Kanarese name Kattiarasa ' the sword-king,' while the name Kattiyār mentioned in his Didgūr record[19] was apparently a variant of the latter name. Besides the usual imperial Chālukya style of Satyāśraya Śrī-pṛithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Bhaṭṭāraka,[20] he is accorded the title of Nṛipasiṁha ' a very lion of a king ' in his Paṭṭadakal inscription.[21] A lithic record written in early Telugu discovered at the village of Peddapeta in the Anantapur district, attributes the title Anivārita to Kīrtivarman II.[22]

It must here be noted that during this reign Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga, referred to in the last chapter,[23] gradually rose to power. The recent discovery of the Manor grant[24] of Dantidurga throws welcome light on the subject under consideration.

The object of the inscription is to record that in the year 671, during the reign of Pṛithivīvallabha, Khadgāvaloka, illustrious Dantidurga, who had obtained Pañchamahāśabdas, while illustrious Aniruddha mediating on his feet, was governing the town of Śrīpura, certain representatives of the Mahājana of the place, donated the village Tambasāhikā situated in the Śrīpura-vishaya.[25] The year 671 apparently refers to the Śaka Saṁvat and therefore, A. D. 748 - 49 would be the date of the inscription.[26] True, the description of Dantidurga as the ' one, who had won the right to use Pañchamahāśabda ' indicates the recognition of a sovereign power on his part, evidently the Chālukyas upto A. D. 748 - 49. But at the same time the identification of the donated village Tambasāhikā with the present Tamashi at a distance of two miles from Manor near Palghar and Śrīpura, which is also called Śrīnagara in the twelfth line of the inscription, with the present Sirgaon about fourteen miles west of Manor,[27] both in the district of Thana, clearly suggests the extension of Dantidurga's authority over the region which formed the viceregal principality of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa till A. D. 731.[28] That this region had virtually become

Rāshṭrakūṭa territory by this time is also shown by the fact that a certain Aniruddha was governing the region on behalf of Dantidurga during this period.[29] It is not improbable that on the death of Vikramāditya II in about A. D. 744,[30] Dantidurga took advantage of the fresh succession in the Chālukya kingdom to aggrandize himself at the expense of his liege-lord. Since his Manor grant[31] registers donation of the village located in the Thana district, it follows that the intervening region between the districts of Aurangabad and Thana comprising the present Nasik district must have also been brought under the sphere of the Rāshṭrakūṭa influence. It may here be recalled that during the reign of Kīrtivarman's grandfather Vijayāditya, a certain Tejavarman was placed in charge of the territory represented by the present district of Nasik, by Pṛithivīchandra Bhogaśakti who himself was acting as a viceroy of the Chālukyas in the Konkan.[32]

The political activities of Dantidurga could have scarcely gone unnoticed by his Chālukya overlord. It is significant in this connection that the Ainuli charter of Kīrtivarman was issued from[33]

his victorious camp on the bank of the river Bhīmā in Śaka 671 (May, 748)[34], the same year in which Dantidurga's Manor grant was inscribed. Apparently, the presence of the Chālukya monarch in the northern parts of his empire, at the time when Dantidurga was gradually gathering power, must have had some political significance, though for lack of historical details we do not know the specific purpose behind Kīrtivarman's visit to this part of his empire. It may, however, be observed that, for the next few years, after issuing the Ainuli charter in [redacted] May of 748[35], Kīrtivarman II, as will presently be seen, was in the southern parts of his empire and in A. D. 754[36] we find him again in his victorious camp located on the northern bank of the river Bhīmā. From the latter fact[37], the scholars have concluded that on this occasion Kīrtivarman marched upto the Bhīmā to check the southward advance of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. If this be true, can it not be supposed, that on the earlier occasion also it was a similar advance of Dantidurga that brought Kīrtivarman hurrying to the northern part of his empire?

For the next few years Kīrtivarman II continued the building activities that marked his

father's reign.[38] A lithic record at the village of Annigere in the Navalagunda taluka of the Dharwar district, inscribed during his sixth regnal year, records the construction of a Jain-temple by Kaliyamma, who was holding the office of a village headman at Jebulgēri, evidentally a suburb of Annigere.[39] The Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription dated 25th June 754 states that the pillar itself, stamped with the mark of triśūla or trident which is the weapon of Śiva, was set up by a sculptor named Śubhadeva for an ācharya named Jñānaśiva, who had come from the Mṛigathanikāhāra-vishaya, on the north bank of the Ganges. As the latter is said to have been dwelling in asylum of (the god) the holy Vijayeśvara, he may have been the chief priest of this temple which was built during the reign of and named after Chālukya Vijayāditya.[40]

[41] A lithic record at Niluru in the Gooty taluka of the Anantaputa district states that Kīrtivarman II remitted certain taxes which the gāmuṇḍas of the place were wont to pay to the state. Kīrtivarman was then probably visiting the eastern part of his dominions, and signalized his visit by this act of bounty. There are other

epigraphs belonging to Kīrtivarman II found at Chandana[42] and Peddapeta[43], which are both in the Anantapura district.

Dantidurga was waxing stronger all this while. In his Daśāvatāra cave inscription at Ellora[44], Dantidurga claims along with his conquests of regions outside the Chālukya empire, such as Kāñchī, Kośala (modern Chhatisagarh), Kaliṅga, Śrīśaila (the country of Telugu Choḷas) Mālvā and Taṅka, the conquest of Lāṭa as well.

As we have already seen, Lāṭa formed part of the Chālukya empire till A. D. 739 and was actually under the administration of the Chālukya prince Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin[45]. This conquest of Lāṭa by Dantidurga is confirmed by the Antroli-Chharoli plates[46] dated 24th September 757, which register the grant of the village Sthāvarapallikā, in the Kāśākūla-vishaya, both located in the present Surat district by Karkka II, a son of Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda, who was a cousin of Dantidurga[47]. It would appear that consequent on the conquest of Lāṭa, Dantidurga appointed either Govinda or his son Karkka II, to look after the recently conquered territory. The event must have taken place before A. D. 755,

when Dantidurga was succeeded by his uncle Kṛishṇa I,[48] whose earliest date is furnished by his Poona plates which were issued on the 6th of October 758.[49]

It was to check the Rāshṭrakūṭa advance that Kīrtivarman would appear to have fixed his camp at Bhandāragavittage on the north bank of the river Bhīmā, idenfified with the present Bhandarkowteh in the Sholapur district,[50] during [redacted] July of A. D. 754.

But his efforts to stem the progress of the enemy were in vain. Dantidurga inflicted a crushing defeat on Kīrtivarman and deserved the praise of the encomiast that,

> ' Having in no time conquered Vallabha who was (even) able to inflict crushing defeats on the lord of Kāñchī, the king of Kerala, the Chola, the Pāṇḍya, Śrī-Harsha and Vajraṭa by prowess of his arm he (Dantidurga) acquired the state of supreme king of kings.' [51]

Although as a result of this victory Kīrtivarman had to forfeit his kingdom to the Rāshṭrakūṭas, he would appear to have continued the struggle in which he seems to have been supported by his kinsman, the Ganga king Śrīpurusha. This is inferred from a Kanarese viragal,[52] at the village

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of Hire-Madhure in the Challakere taluka of the Chitaldrug district. The language of the epigraph is early Kannada and resembles in this respect the aforementioned Gaddemane viragal of Śilāditya,[53] but differs from the generality of the early Gaṅga viragals.[54] Although undated, the epigraph can be assigned to the eighth century of the Christian era, as the characters are similar to those of the Paṭṭadakal inscription of Vikramāditya II.[55]

The text of the viragal is as follows:[56]

(1) Kattiarasara - Koṅguṇi - a-
(2) rasara Bāgeūroḷe e-
(3) ṛivandu Koṅguṇiarasara
(4) ā ḷu e-
(5) ṛidu sa-
(6) tton
(7) Bhānudā
(8) san
(9) Jayami
(10) tran.....'

This inscription according to the translator means that,' while Koṅguṇi-arasar's

Kattiarasar was piercing at Bāge-ūr, Bhānudāsa,
a servant of Koṅguṇiarasar pierced and died.'[57]

It may be recalled in this connection that the name Kaṭṭiarasar, though it is not a Kanarese equivalent of Kīrtivarman,[58] was nevertheless applied to both, Kīrtivarman I and Kīrtivarman II.[59][60] Moreover, in the preceding chapter, we have already identified the Kattiarasar of this viragal with[61] Kīrtivarman II.[62] If this is accepted, it would then follow that Koṅguṇiarasar appearing in the viragal[63] is the contemporary Gaṅga ruler Śrīpurusha, since this appellation was generally applied to the Gaṅga kings.[64]

According to our interpretation,[65] the viragal would show that the combined forces of Kīrtivarman II and Śrīpurusha fought against a common enemy in the battle of Bāge-ūr. This place has been correctly identified with the present village of Bāgūr in the Hosadurga taluka of the Chitaldrug district situated on the northern border of Mysore.[66] It would follow from this identification that the unnamed enemy came from the north, and could have been none other than the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa I. This is confirmed by the Talegaon plates

of this Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler who is said to have issued his grant on 23rd March 768, from his victorious camp at Maṇṇanagar during his expedition against the Gaṅgas. (Śaka-nṛipati-saṁvatsara-śata-shaṭkē navaty -un(tta)re Plavaṅga -varshe Vaiśākh - āmāvāsyāyām = ādityagrahē Gaṅgānām = upari vijaya-skandhāvāre Maṇṇa-nagare....).[67] This place of encampment was the very capital of the Gaṅga rulers and is now identified with Manne in the Nelamangala taluka of the Bangalore district.[68] It would appear that at the battle of Bāge-ūr, mentioned in the aforementioned hero-stone inscription,[69] the combined forces of the Chālukyas and the Gaṅgas tried in vain to check the invading Rāshṭrakūṭa army of Kṛishṇa I who so far succeeded in overrunning the Ganga territories that he was able to fix his camp in the capital city of Śrīpurusha.[70]

The presence of victorious forces of Kṛishṇa I would also indicate that by A. D. 768, the year in which his Talegaon plates were issued,[71] the entire dominions of Kīrtivarman II, situated to the north of the Gaṅga kingdom, passed into the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. In a later Rāshṭrakūṭa record Kṛishṇa I is eulogised for ' sportingly and quickly'

tearing away ' the Goddess of (regal) fortune of the Chālukya family'[72] and for having ' transformed into a deer the great boar' (the Chālukya crest)[73].

Some records describe him as achieving supreme sovereignty, resplendent with numerous Pāli-dhvajas, by conquering Rāhapa (Rāhappa or Rāhapya)[74]. Who is this Rāhappa? The reference to supreme sovereignty and the Pāli-dhvaja accruing to Kṛishṇa I as a result of the victory would suggest that Rāhapa was probably another name of the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman II[75]. At any rate, the suggestion of Dr. Fleet[76] that Rāhapa be identified with the Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkka II of the Antroli-Chharoli grant is hardly tenable. True, Karkka II proudly assumes[77] the imperial style of Mahārājādhirāja[78] Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka in his Antroli-chharoli grant of A. D. 757, but it is only the defeat of the Chālukya emperor Kīrtivarman II that could bring supreme sovereignty to Kṛishṇa I and not that of his kinsman from Gujarat despite the assumption by him of all the grandiloquent titles.

This struggle between the Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas would appear to have involved all the powers of the Deccan and the South. The Velvikudi grant[79] of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (c. A. D. 765 -815),

issued during the latter's third regnal year records that a certain Madavikalaṉ Maṟangāṟī alias Mūvēndamaṅgala-Ppēraraiyaṉ, at whose request the donation registered in the grant was made and who is also described as the favourite of the king of kings, i.e. the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyan, 'fought powerfully like a thunderbolt, in battles where machines shaped wild hogs killed (the enemies) in close fight with (drawn) swords when the king of the east (or the kings of the east) possessing clamourous battalions of fighting men rose up and put to flight with (great) loss in an infantry attack at Veṅbai, the Vallabha of the vast army of archers, on the occasion when the excellent daughter of Gaṅgarāja who wore a garland of highly scented flowers (dribbling) honey was secured and offered to Koṅgarkōṉ (i.e. the Pāṇḍya king).'

The Vallabha of a vast army of archers and the Gaṅgarāja of this record are evidentally Kīrtivarman II and Śrīpurusha who were both contemporaries of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (c.A. D. 765 - 815)[80], and the king of the east who joined the Pāṇḍyas on the battle-field of Veṅbai could only be Nandivarman Pallavamalla (c.A. D. 735 - 800) who was also a

contemporary of the Chālukya and Gaṅga rulers. The record would imply a large-scale conflict among the[81] southern powers.[82] And since the battles of Bāge-ūr and Veṅbai were fought within months of each other it is possible that just as Kīrtivarman sought the help of his kinsman Śrīpurusha against his Rāshṭrakūṭa adversary so the latter enlisted the help of their kinsman Nandivarman Pallavamalla,[83] who brought to his support his Pāṇḍya contemporary.

It may be noted in this connection that the Tandantottam plates[84] issued during the fifty-eighth year (c.A. D. 793) of Nandivarman, the latter is said to have snatched away from an unnamed Gaṅga king a neck-ornament which contained in it the gem called Ugrodaya. It is not unlikely that it was at the battle of Veṅbai, recorded in the Velvikudi charter,[85] that Nandivarman found an opportunity to take away the necklace of the Gaṅga king. Nandivarman also gloats over his triumph against Vallabha, obviously the Chālukya emperor, mentioned in the Korrangudi plates[86] inscribed during his sixty-first regnal year.

The Chālukya empire was now beyond recovery and the loyalty of the Sindas,[87] Sendrakas[88]

and other feudatories like Mādhavatti of Āḍūr[89] inscription and Dośirāja of the Vakkalēri plates[90] could not avert its doom. As a later Chālukya grant truly observes,[91] ' in his (Kīrtivarman II) reign the Rājyaśri of the Chālukyas disappeared from the face of the earth.' The heirs of Kīrtivarman II, if any, must have passed their life in obscurity.

Like his ancestors Kīrtivarman II also made grants to learned Brāhmaṇas which are recorded in his Ainuli,[92] Vakkalēri[93] and Kendūr[94] grants. An epigraph of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda dated A. D. 804,[95] mentions a grant which Kīrtivarman II had made to the god Parameśvara (Śiva) at the Rāmeśvara tīrtha on the Tuṅgabhadrā river. His patronage to Jainism is attested by the Āḍūr inscription[96] which registers a grant to a temple of Jinendra.

N O T E S.

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(1) ASMAR, 1909, p. 12 a.

(2) Pathak, ' Kendūr Plates of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. IX, pp. 200 ff.

(3) Rice, ' The Chālukyas and Pallavas,' IA, vol. VIII, pp. 23 - 29;

Kielhorn, ' Vakkaleri Plates of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. V, pp. 200 - 205.

(4) Fleet, ' Paṭṭadakal Inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman II,' EI, vol. III, pp. 1- 7.

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(5) Supra, n. 3.

(6) Ibid., plate facing p. 204, line 61.

(7) Rice, art. et loc. cit.

(8) Kielhorn, art. et loc. cit.

(9) Fleet, DKD, pp. 377 - 378.

(10) Supra, n. 2.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Supra, n. 7.

(13) Supra, n. 8.

(14) Supra, n. 9.

(15) Supra, n. 3.

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(16) Supra, n. 2.

(17) Fleet, ' Early Chalukya Inscription of Kīrtivarman I,' IA, vol. XI, pp. 68 -70.;

Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, pp. 4 ff.

(18) ASMAR, 1939, pp. 117 - 121.;

Supra, pp. 334 - 335.

(19) Fleet, ' Three Inscriptions in the Dhārwār district,' IA, vol. VI, pp. 251 ff.;

Gai, ' Note on the Didgūr record of Kattiyāra,' EI, vol. XXXIII, pp. 309 ff.

(20) Supra, ns. 2, 3, 4 and 17.

(21) Supra, n. 4.

(22) Ind. Arch., 1958 - 59, p. 57.

(23) Supra, pp. 296 - 301.

(24) Mirashi, Studies in Indology, vol. II, pp. 10 - 15.

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(25) Ibid.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Supra, pp. 239 - 241 and 298.

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(29) Supra, n. 24.

(30) Supra, n. 327.

(31) Supra, n. 24.

(32) Supra, p. 299 - 301.

(33) Supra, n. 1.

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(34) Supra, n. 24.

(35) Supra, n. 1.

(36) Supra, n. 3.

(37) Fleet, DKD, p. 378.;

Altekar, ' The History of the Rāshṭrakūṭas,' EHOD, p. 256.;

Sircar, ' The Chālukyas,' CA, p. 249.

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(38) Rao, Laxminarayana, ' Annigeri Inscription of Kīrtivarman (II); the sixth year,' EI, vol. XXI, pp. 204 - 206.

(39) Supra, n. 4.

(40) Ibid.

(41) SII, vol. IX, pt. I, p. 28.

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(42) Ind. Arch., 1958 - 59, p. 57.

(43) Supra, n. 22.

(44) Burgess, ASWI, vol. V, pp. 87 - 89.

(45) Supra, pp. 327 - 329.

(46) Bhagawanlal Indraji, ' New Copper-plate Grants of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dynasty,' JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 105 - 113.

(47) Altekar, art. et loc. cit., pp. 251 and 258.

Page : 353.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Apte, D. V., ' राष्ट्रकूटांचा शके ६८० मधील ताम्रपट,' BISMQ, vol. VIII, pp. 165-173.

(50) Supra, n. 3.

(51) Fleet, ' Rāshṭrakūṭa Grant of Dantidurga - S. 675,' IA, vol. XI, p. 112, lines 24 - 26.

(52) ASMAR, 1939, pp. 117 - 121.

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(53) Supra, pp. 49 ff.

(54) Supra, n. 52.

(55) Fleet, ' Inscription of Vikramāditya II,' IA, vol. X, plate facing p. 164.;

ASMAR, 1939, Plate XXVII.

(56) Supra, n. 52.

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(57) Ibid., It must, however, be observed that despite the effort of the translator to give readable rendering of the text, the first two lines of the viragal still present difficulties which admit of three possible interpretations.

The first of the three interpretations given by Dr. M. H. Krishna while editing the record in the Archaeological Survey Mysore, Annual Report for 1939, pp. 117 -121, is that the expression ' Kattiarasar Koṅguṇi-arasar Bāge-ūṛole erivandu,' might mean that Koṅguṇiarasar, the sword-king,

was piercing in a battle at Bāge-ūr. But so far we have no information regarding Gaṅga Śrīpurusha having ever borne the title of ' the sword-king' or Kattiarasa, and hence, we have to give up this suggestion.

The second interpretation is that Koṅguṇi Arasara may be taken as qualifying Kattiarasar and the meaning in that case would be that Kattiarasar was a subordinate of Koṅguṇiarasara, i.e. Śrīpurusha. This also is untenable. For one thing had the Chālukyas been subjugated by the Gaṅgas during the reign of Kīrtivarman II, the fact could have scarcely gone unmentioned in the numerous epigraphs of Śrīpurusha. For another, the Gaṅgas were the faithful allies of the Chālukyas rendering valuable assistance against the Pallavas during the reign of Vijayāditya. The grand-daughter of Vijayāditya's son Vikramāditya II was given in marriage to Sripurusha's son Duggamāra and the queen Vijayamahādevī of Śrīpurusha himself was a Chālukya princess. Moreover, as would presently be seen Kīrtivarman II and Śrīpurusha would appear to have fought jointly against the combined forces of the Pallavas and the Pandyas in the battle of Venbai described in the Velvikudi grant of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (A. D. 765 - 815). In the light of foregoing details, the second interpretation, which indicates the subordination of Kīrtivarman II by Śrīpurusha remains unacceptable.

Lastly on the analogy of Arsikere 177 (EC, vol. V, AK. 77.) where

we get the words Kattiarasara Koṅguṇiara..... it may be inferred that Koṅguṇiarasar of our viragal was either a son or subordinate of the latter, -- a relationship that perfectly agrees with the known facts of history of this period.

(58) The Kanarese name Kattiarasa means ' a sword-king' (Infra, n. 59.), while ' Kīrtivarman ' is a Sanskrit name and is translated as ' the one whose armour is his fame,' (Fleet, DKD, p.345.).

(59) Desai, P. B., ' Godachi Plates of Kattiarasa : Year 12,' EI, vol. XXVIII, pp. 59-62.

(60) Supra, n. 18.

(61) Supra, pp. 334 - 335.

(62) Supra, n. 52.

(63) Ibid.

(64) Rice, op. cit., pp. 32.

(65) Supra, n. 57.

(66) ASMAR, 1941, p. 135.

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(67) Sten Konow, ' Talegāon Copper-plates of Kṛishṇa Rāja I; Śaka 690,' EI, vol. XIII, pp. 275 - 282.

(68) Rice, EC, vol. III, Introduction, p.10.

(69) Supra, n. 52.

(70) Supra, ns. 67 and 68.

(71) Supra, n. 67.

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(72) Fleet, ' Rāshṭrakūṭa Grant of Govinda III, Ś. 730,'
IA, vol. XI, pp. 156 - 163.

(73) Fleet, ' Rāshṭrakūṭa Grant of Karka-Suvarṇavarsha, Ś. 734,'
IA, vol. XII, p. 162.

(74) Buhler, ' A Grant of Dhruva III., of Broach,'
IA, vol. XII, p. 187.;

Hultzsch, ' A Grant of Kṛishṇa II of Ankuleśvar, of 888 A.D.,'
IA, vol.XIII, p. 67.

(75) Sircar, ' The Chālukyas,'
CA, p. 249.

(76) Fleet, DKD, pp. 392 - 393.;

Altekar, ' The History of the Rāshṭrakūṭas,'
EHOD, p. 258; n.2.

(77) Supra, n. 46.

(78) Ibid.

(79) Sastri, H.K., ' Velvikudi Grant of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan,'
EI, vol. XVII, pp. 291 - 309.

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(80) Sastri, Nilakanta, ' The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom,' p. 58.

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(81) Supra, n. 79.

(82) Supra, pp. 354 - 356.

(83) Gopalan, op. cit., p. 127.

(84) Sastri, H. K., 'Tandantoṭṭam Plates of Kovijaya - Nandivikramavarman,'
SII, vol. II, pt. V, p. 517.

(85) Supra, n. 79.

(86) Aiyar, K.V.S., ' Paṭṭalmangalam Grant of Nandivarman,' EI, vol. XVIII, pp. 115 - 124.;

Subramaniam, T. N., ' The Kotrankudi Plates of Nandivarman II,' QJMS, vol. XIV, pp. 125 - 139.

(87) Supra, n. 17.

(88) Ibid.

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(89) Supra, n. 17.

(90) Supra, n. 3.

(91) Fleet, ' Kauthem Plates of Vikramāditya V; S. 930,' IA, vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff.

(92) Supra, n.1.

(93) Supra, n. 3.

(94) Supra, n. 2.

(95) Fleet, ' Rāshṭrakūṭa Grant of Govinda III., S. 726,' IA, vol. XI, pp. 125 ff.

(96) Supra, n. 17.

CHAPTER XIII

END OF THE DYNASTY.

With the rise of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Chālukyas quit the stage for well over two centuries. In the second quarter of the tenth century, the Chālukyas appear again, tracing their descent from the younger son of Vijayāditya of the Vātāpi-Chālukyas.[1] During the interval we get a few stray names claiming Chālukya descent but due to dearth of historical material we are not able to establish their connection with the Bādāmi family or even with one another.[2] An inscription from Koṭūr in the Belgaum district records the self-immolation by a Śaiva ascetic named Śambhu and mentions a Chālukya prince with the name or title of Parahitarāja. In the Kadaba grant of Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda III,[3] the authenticity of which is not unquestioned, a certain Chālukya Vimalāditya is mentioned as ruling over Kuṇigal-deśa in about A. D. 813. The inscription also furnishes the names of Vimalāditya's father and grandfather, Yaśovarman and Balavarman

respectively.[4] A short inscription of the late ninth or the tenth century from Varūṇa[5] in Mysore preserves the names of Chālukya Narasiṁha and his wife Gavilabbarasi.[6] Another record from the same place brings to light a Chālukya Mahāsāmanta Goggi or Gugga, with the boar crest. Again in A. D. 944-45[7] there appears a Mahāsāmanta Kaṭyera of the Chālukya family, who was ruling over Kogali 500 and Masiyavadi 140 under the Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa III, and another Chalikya chieftain Rājāditya[8] governing Kadambalige 1000 to the east of the Tungabhadrā in the Mysore during the reign of the same Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler. These instances would show the steps taken by the Chālukya family to recover their power until at last under Tailapa II they were able to replace the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

N O T E S.

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(1) Fleet, ' Kauthem Plates of Vikramāditya V - S.S. 930,' IA, vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff.

(2) Fleet, ' An Old-Canarese Inscription at Koṭūr, ' IA, vol. XX, pp. 69 ff.

(3) Lüders, H, ' Kadaba Plates of Prabhutavarsha, Saka -Samvat. 735,' EI, vol. IV, pp. 332 - 249.

Page : 370.

(4) Ibid.

(5) EC, vo. III, Mys. Nos. 35, 36 and 37.

(6) Ibid., Mys. Nos. 41 - 45.

(7) SII, vol. IX, pt.I, No.64.

ARSIE, 1904, No. 75.

(8) ASMAR, 1935, No. 40.

PART II

CULTURE

THE VARĀHALĀṄCHHANA

' Victorious is the body which was that of a boar that was manifested of Vishnu, which agitated the ocean and which had the Earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right tusk '.

(Invocatory verse appearing in the preamble of the Chālukya epigraphs.)

CHAPTER I.

ADMINISTRATION.

At the outset it must be admitted that with the exception of the Balagāmve inscription[1] of Vinayāditya and the Laxmeśvara Pillar epigraph[2] of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (II), the Chālukya records, which provide material for the reconstruction of political history, supply but little information when we come to study the actual working of government under the rulers of this family. The following account therefore is a synthesis of the data furnished by their own inscriptions and those of the Kadambas of Banavāsi and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed, who respectively preceeded and succeeded them in the sovereignty of Karṇāṭaka. The epigraphs of their feudatories like the Sendrakas, the Bāṇas and the Gurjaras have also been pressed into service. It should, however, be borne in mind that the primary purpose of these inscriptions was to register donations and therefore appearance of administrative details was only accidental. The information yielded by such unsatisfactory material being scrappy, it is possible to give a description of the administrative

machinery only in its broadest outline.

There could hardly be any doubt that monarchy was the form of government and the king was the supreme head of the state. He not only reigned but ruled, exercising the highest authority in matters political, social, economic and religious. Though the powers of royalty were unlimited in theory, in practice, however, indiscriminate use of these powers was somewhat checked by public opinion. This is evident in the case of Mangaleśa.[3] He was to steer the ship of state only till the minor children of his elder brother Kīrtivarman I grew to shoulder the responsibility of governing the kingdom. Instead Mangaleśa sought to divert the line of succession to the Vātāpi-throne in favour of his own son with the result that a civil war broke out in the Chālukya kingdom, from which Kīrtivarman's son, Pulakeśin II, emerged victorious.[4] This achievement on the part of Pulakeśin II must have been attained not without the overwhelming public support in favour of his cause, since his usurper uncle, by virtue of his being on the throne, must have commanded the large resources of the state. Under such circumstances even the ministers of state upheld the rights of a fugitive prince and secretly supplied him with all conceivable assistance to regain the throne. This fact comes out

most prominently in the Sanskrit play Kaumudī-mahotsava[5], which has been attributed to the Chālukya queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, a daughter-in-law of Pulakeśin II.

Incidentally, the internecine war between Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin II also indicates that the succession to the Chālukya throne was hereditary from father to son and the law of primogeniture was generally adhered to. This practice, however, seems to have been set aside in extraordinary circumstances as was the case with the succession of Vikramāditya I.[6] The latter was not the eldest son of Pulakeśin II.[7] But the Chālukya kingdom, shaken as it was by the Pallava inroads, required the services of a monarch who was capable of repairing the damage suffered by the empire. Chandrāditya, the elder brother of Vikramāditya I, seems to have willingly given up his right in the larger interest of the state. Or else the relations between the two brothers could not have remained so fraternal and friendly, as is evident from the Nerūr[8] and the Kochrem[9] grants of Chandrāditya's wife Vijayabhaṭṭārikā where the achievements of Vikramāditya are described at considerable length.

Although they wielded absolute power the

Chālukya monarchs do not appear to have claimed the divine origin of kingship, despite the fact that they liked to be compared with divinities and personalities like Bṛihaspati,[10] Rāma,[11] Vāsudeva,[12] Uśanas,[13] Mahendra[14] and Yuddhiṣṭhira.[15] It is only in the epigraphs of the Kalyāṇī, Veṅgī, Gujarāt and Vemulavāda houses of the Chālukyas that we come across pompous genealogies tracing their descent from God Brahmā, or the Sun or the Moon.[16]

Mahārāja[17] and Dharmamahārāja[18] were the two imperial titles used by the ancestors of Pulakeśin II while the latter and all his successors bore the superior title of Mahārājadhirāja.[19] The appellations, Pṛithivīvallabha or its variant Śrīprithivīvallabha and Satyāśraya were adopted by almost all the rulers of the family.[20] The Kanarese designation Bhaṭāra or Bhaṭṭārara, indicative of respect was attached to the names of the kings in the epigraphs written in the Kanarese language,[21] while those written in Sanskrit employed its Sanskrit form Bhaṭṭāraka. Vijayāditya and his successors, however, are known to have borne the higher title of Paramabhaṭṭārara or Paramabhaṭṭāraka.[23] The Goa grant of Dhruvarāja Indravarman issued in A. D. 610 has it that Pulakeśin II assumed the style of Parameśvara on account of his[24]

conquest of many hostile kings though the records of his successors attribute the assumption of this title (by Pulakeśin)[25] to his victory over Harsha. Vikramāditya to mark his triumph against the family of Mahāmalla (Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I) styled himself ' Rājamalla.'[26]

Śriparākrama,[27] Puru-raṇaparākrama,[28] Uru-raṇavikrānta,[29] Raṇavikramāṅka[30] and Raṇarasika were some of the titles showing the martial qualities of the monarch who bore them, while the appellations like Paramamāheśvara,[32] Paramabhāgavata[33] and Paramabrahmanya[34] assumed by the rulers of this house indicate their religious leanings.

As a rule the Chālukya kings were learned and cultured. Thus we are told that Pulakeśin I was conversant with the laws of Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata,[35] the Puraṇas and the Itihāsas, while his son Maṅgaleśa is said to have had a mind trained by the study of all the Śāstras.[36] But learning was not confined to male members of the royal family. The female members must also have been sufficiently learned, despite the fact that we have only a single though illustrious, instance of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the daughter-in-law of Pulakeśin II, who wrote the Sanskrit play the Kaumudīmahotsava.[37] The literary qualities of

her works earned her praise from Rājaśekhara, the literary critic of the tenth century who ranked her next only to Kālidāsa in the Vaidarbhi style of writing.[38]

In the Bādāmi cave record[39] Maṅgaleśa is said to have possessed the three śaktis, i.e. utsāha, prabhu, (or prabhāva) and mantra while the Aihole praśasti[40] which credits Pulakeśin II with the possession of the same threefold powers would have us believe that this latter accomplished the reduction of the strength of Maṅgaleśa by the application of his superior mantrotsāha-śakti. According to Kauṭilya[41] mantra-śakti was the power of knowledge (state-craft), prabhu-śakti that of treasury and army while the utsāha-śakti was the force accruing from the king's bravery. It may here be noted that these very śaktis are mentioned in terms identical with those used in the Arthaśāstra in the Ajaneri[42] grant of Prithivīchandra Bhogaśakti, a feudatory of the Chālukyas, a circumstance which shows that Kauṭilya's encyclopaedic treatise was fairly well-known at this time in the Deccan.

Almost all the Chālukya sovereigns were of a religious turn of mind and performed the vratas and dānas prescribed in the Smritis. Thus besides performing

the Vedic sacrifices including the great Aśvamedha, Pulakeśin I also gave the Hiranyagarbha mahādāna.[43] His son Maṅgaleśa is said to have observed a fast on the Kārttika-dvādasi day and worshipped Vishṇu before donating a village to a Vedic scholar.[44] They not only installed gods in beautiful temples but elaborately endowed them for the purposes of regular worship.[45]

Thanks to the catholic religious outlook of the rulers of this dynasty, different religions not only flourished in their dominions but also received patronage from the royal members of family. Thus, Vijayāditya is known to have made endowments in favour of a Jaina establishment which was being constructed under the patronage of his sister Kuṁkuṁ-mahādevī,[46] while their patronage of Buddhist institutions is known from Chinese sources.[46a]

The consort of the actual ruler in the Chālukya empire was designated Mahādevī[47] while a queen mother was referred to as Rājamātā.[48] In case the ruler had more than one wife, the eldest or the most favourite was given the appellation of agrama-mahādevī, the first queen, which is applied in the Māruṭūru grant of Pulakeśin II to his Kadamba-queen.[49]

This custom of taking more than one wife seems to have been fairly common among the Chālukyas, and we have well attested evidence that Vikramāditya II took two wives, Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī, both belonging to the family of the Haihayas.[50]

At times the queens took the initiative in making donations, installing gods and constructing temples. Thus, the images of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Maheśvara constituting the Trimurti were installed in a shrine at Bādāmi by Vijayāditya's mother Rājamātā Vinayavatī,[51] while the temples of Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna at Paṭṭadakal were built by the two queens of Vikramāditya II.[52]

Apart from taking the initiative in making grants, the queens and princesses are known to have joined military expeditions. Thus a queen of Pulakeśin II accompanied her royal husband on his eastern expedition in A. D. 616,[53] while it was at the request of his queen of the Ganga family who had accompanied him in his campaign against the Pallavas that Vikramāditya I issued from his victorious camp at Uragapuram in A. D. 674 the grant registered in his Gadaval plates.[54] Again we have it in the Honnur plates of A. D. 670 that a grand-daughter of

Pulakeśin II, whose name unfortunately has not been mentioned, was present in a military camp along with her husband Gaṅga Mādhava.[55] It is, however, disputable if this practice made for the efficiency of the campaign. Be that as it may, the desire of the queens to be of real assistance to their husbands finds concrete expression in the cases such as those of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā[56] who shared with Chandrāditya the administrative responsibility for Southern Koṅkaṇ, which the latter held under Vikramāditya, and of Lokatinimmaḍi[57] who was administering Kuruttakuṇṭa, a district near Bādāmi. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has rightly suggested that she may be identical with Vijayāditya's daughter-in-law Lokamahādevī.[58]

The education and training of the princes was well attended to. Thus, Vijayāditya is described as having acquired ' while still a child ' mastery over ' all the sciences and the use of arms.'[59] As a Yuvarāja, his son Vikramāditya (II) led an expedition against the Pallavas,[60] made joint donations with his father,[61] the ruling soverign, and granted a charter of rights and duties to the local authorities of the town of Porigeṛe, the present Laxmeśvara.[62]

One of the princes was usually appointed Yuvarāja by the sovereign during his life time.

This is evident from the Kendūr plates of Kīrtivarman II which state that he was appointed Yuvarāja by his father Vikramāditya II, ' whose heart was delighted with a multitude of his (Kīrtivarman's) virtues.'[63] It is known from a Rāshṭrakūṭa record[64] that it was customary on such occasion to invest the frown prince with a necklace. We have, however, no evidence of this practice having prevailed during this earlier Chālukyan period. As Yuvarājas these princes took an active part in the affairs of the empire.

It is obvious that the king, without some sort of assistance, could not govern an empire of the proportions attained by the Chālukya kingdom. In fact the classical authors of political treatises point out that just as a chariot cannot move on a single wheel so the government cannot be guided by a single will, and strongly recommend that a king should always appoint ministers and govern his kingdom in consultation with them.[65]

In her Kaumudīmahotsava[66] Queen Vijayabhattārikā uses three terms, amātya,[67] mantri and sachiva[68] which though translated as minister may have stood for different offices of varying degrees of importance. Mantragupta, who plays a dominant part in restoring

the family of Kalyāṇavarman, the hero of the play, is designed[69] amātya and mantrimahattara,[70] the chief of ministers.' Further, Mantragupta is said to have rallied other ' aged ministers ' स्थविरामात्यैः[71] to the cause of Kalyāṇavarman's family; and the king of Yadus is said to have decided to betroth his daughter to Kalyāṇavarman only after consulting his ministers referred to by the term मंत्रिभिः[72]. This probably would show that under the Bādāmi Chālukyas the terms amātya and mantri were considered synonymous to indicate ministers, while the designation mantrimahattara applied to Mantragupta, the chief architect of the restoration plan, may well suggest that the latter was holding the position of a premier.[73] In the Godachi grant of Kīrtivarman I a certain Vyāghrasvāmin is designated as rājya-sarvasva-dhurandhara, meaning ' he who held the formost responsibility of the entire kingdom.' This designation was probably another name by which the premier was distinguished. This designation probably comprehended the same duties as discharged by the minister designated as sarvasya-anusthātā in a Kadamba inscription of the 6th century.[74]

The fact that the word mantri indicated a minister at the court of the Pallavas as well is borne out by the contemporary inscription of Nandivarman

Pallavamalla in the Vainkunthaperumal temple where a council of ministers is referred to as mantri-mandala.[75]

The term सचिव of the Kaumudi-mahotsava, however, when read in its proper context could not mean a minister. Miss Sastri who has edited this play would have us believe that the term सचिव has also the meaning of मंत्रि[76]. This interpretation, however, is not borne out by the play itself. For on his re-entry into the ancestral capital, the hero of the play is represented as having been followed by ' sachivaśataiḥ '[77] which term should rather be rendered as ' hundred officers' than ' hundred ministers,' as has been done by Miss Sastri. It must not be forgotten that the largest ministry favoured by the Uśanas school[78], consisted of not more than 20 ministers.

Although the Chālukya records do not allude to mantri-mandala, it is possible that they were not without this institution on the analogy of the above-mentioned mantri-mandala of the Pallavas, who were their political rivals.[79] Authorities differ as to the strength of this body. In the fifteenth chapter of the first book of the Arthaśāstra, Kauṭilya[80] quotes

different views on this point, the Uśanas school[81] as has already been mentioned, favouring a large ministry of twenty, and the school of Manu favouring[82] a ministry of twelve members.[83] The Nītivākyāmṛita recommended a small ministry consisting of 3, 5 or 7 members. Kauṭilya, however, wisely observes that the strength of the ministry should vary with the needs of the situation.[84] In accordance with this dictum the Chālukyas must have had as many ministers as were demanded by the work in hand.

Although the qualifications of the ministers are not laid down in the records, the description of their qualities may give us a clue as to what was expected of them. Thus Vyāghrasvāmin, the minister of Kīrtivarman I, is described as well-versed not only in the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas but also in the science of polity. He possessed exceptional mastery in rhetoric, logic, poetry, drama and historical literature and was also conversant with music and the Purāṇas.[85] The description of Vyāghrasvāmin's achievements would also show what was the educational equipment of a cultured man of the times.

Were the ministers expected to be military leaders as was the case in the empire of the

Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī?[86] The records, however, are silent on this point. But from the fact that the above eulogy of Vyāghrasvāmin does not indicate military training, we may take it that they were not expected to have expert knowledge of warfare.

The Kaumudī-mahotsava and the epigraphs of the Chālukyas give us the names of only a few officers. The minister who appears most frequently in the records is the mahāsandhivigrahika,[87] the great minister of peace and war, who may possibly be described as foreign minister. This office seems to have developed from the simpler one of sandhivigrahika, which is found in the Allāhbād prasasti of Samudragupta.[88] This in its turn was derived from sandhivigraha or sandhivikrama mentioned by Kauṭilya.[89] In the inscriptions of Kalachuri Buddharāja[90] the department of foreign affairs is mentioned as sandhi-vigraha-adhikaraṇa,[91] and since the nomenclature for the head of the foreign affairs used by the Chālukyas was mahāsandhivigrahika, it is likely that the department was known by the same designation in the Karṇāṭaka during the Chālukya rule. It was among his duties to draft the copper-plate charters registering the donation of land or villages. This seems to have been accepted practice, as the Mitākṣharā on

Yājñavalkya includes the drafting of the charters among his duties when it[92] states that ' the drafter (of the copper-plate charters) should be the person who is the foreign minister,' संधि विग्रह कारी तु भवेद्यत्स्य लेखक । . The reason for this was obviously that of all the departments of the state, the department of peace and war was most likely to possess an accurate and upto-date information about the conquests of the king and his ancestors, which were generally described in the initial part of such charters. It would appear from the Navasāri[93] grant of Śrayāśraya Śilāditya of the Gujarāt Chālukyas that the viceroys also had under them an officer bearing this designation.

Kauṭilya,[94] Kāmandaka,[95] Manu,[96] Yājñavalkya[97] and the Vishṇudharmottara-Purāṇa[98] all recognise the importance of the treasury or kośa and it is not improbable that the Bādāmi Chālukyas took particular care in selecting an efficient officer for the post. In the contemporary Pallava kingdom the treasurer was designated as kośādhyaksha,[99] while in a Śilahāra record of A. D. 1094 he is designated bhāndāgārika.[100] We do not know the name by which the officer in charge of the treasury went under the Chālukyas; but there could scarcely be any doubt that like the treasurer of the

Pallavas, he too had to pass through the tests of upadha (honesty), dhaṛma[101] (religious merit), artha (wealth) and kāma (desire).

The Manor plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa[102] mention another department connected with finance, the akshapatalādhikaraṇa or accounts office. The officer in charge of this department must have obviously been known as the akshapatalika, [illegible] term which occurs both in the Arthaśāstra[103] and the Gupta inscriptions.[104] His superior at the centre must have been designated mahākshapatalika, a designation which is met with in the contemporary Madhuban plates of Harsha.[105]

Two other officers figure in the Kaumudī-mahotsava,[106] senāpati[107] and purohita. The former was evidently the commander of the army corresponding to the mahābalādhikṛta, the great chief of bala or army, appearing in the contemporary records of the Gurjaras of Broach[108] and the Sendrakas from Khandesh.[109] The qualifications for this office are mentioned in several places.[110] According to the Matsya Purāṇa the commander-in-chief ' should be of a good family, modest, having good manners, skilled in archery, expert in examining and managing horses and elephants, used to polite speaking, able to understand the science of

omens and medicine, grateful, able to appreciate the prowess of the brave, valiant, used to bear hardships and having a knowledge of disposing troops in battle and of military affairs in particular.'

The office of purohita or royal preceptor existed from Rigvedic times.[111] In the Aitreya Brāhmana purohita is hailed as rāshtra-gopa, ' the saviour of the kingdom, '[112] while according to the Arthaśāstra he was to act as a spiritual guide to a monarch.[113] Yājñavalkya characterizes ~~records~~ him as distinct from ministers;[114] but Vijñāneśvara includes purohita among amātyas or ministers. In fact the purohita figures along with mantri, yuvarāja, senāpati and dauvārika in the records of the Veṅgī branch of the family.[115] It would also appear from the description of Vyāghrasvāmin as mahā-brāhmaṇa and Brahaspati in the Godachi grant of Kīrtivarman I[116] that the chief minister at times also combined the office of purohita at the Chālukya court. It is not unlikely that he bore the title of dharmāṅkuśa as in the Multai grant of Nannarāja[117] dated A. D. 708.

In his Bṛihatsaṁhitā[118] Varāhamihira emphasises the need of an astrologer at the royal court when he states that ' a king without a saṁvatsara mistakes his path like a blind man.' The office assumed some

importance,[119] as in the opinion of Yājñavalkya, the rise and fall of kings depended on the planets. It is not to be wondered at if Kāmandaka[120] agrees with Vishnudharmottara Purāṇa[121] in counselling kings to put their trust in the astrologers.

The Kaumudīmahotsava mentions an officer called dauvārika,[122] and he also appears in the Veṅgī records.[123] This office was probably identical with that of pratihāra under the Banavāsi Kadambas,[124] meaning a chamberlain.

It is natural to expect a well-ordered kingdom such as that of the Chālukyas that the state-papers were preserved with due care in the archives. According to Hiuen Tsang,[125] the archives and records were consigned to the care of a separate custodian, the official annals and state papers being collectively called ' ni-lo-pi-tu.'[126] Hiuen Tsang further says that in this ' ni-lo-pi-tu,' ' good and bad are recorded and instances of public calamity and good fortune are set forth in great detail.' The traveller, however, does not mention the designation of this office. Could the ' divirapati ' occurring in the Manor plates[127] of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa be the ' custodian of the archives ' of the Chinese pilgrim? The term has

been translated as chief of the secretariat by Shri Krishnadeva,[128] who has edited this inscription. It has been rendered as ' chief of clerks ' by Fleet[129] in his Gupta Inscriptions.

The office of dūta, messenger or ambassador, was known since early times. Agni in the Rigveda is said to be the dūta and is requested to bring the gods to sacrifice.[130] In the sixteenth chapter of the first book of the Arthaśāstra Kauṭilya describes the three types of dūtas : nisṛṣṭārtha, parimitārtha and śāsanahara.[131] In his Mitākṣharā Vijñāneśvara gives a similar gradation with the difference that instead of parimitārtha he has sandishtārtha.[132] A nisrstārtha dūta is one who is entrusted with full discretion as to his proceedings at the court to which he is accredited.[133] Sandishtārtha is entrusted with a definite mission,[134] while the third category of dūtas, the śāsanahara is merely a carrier of royal missives.[135] The distinction between a dūta, who is an ambassador, and chāra, a spy, was known, and it is interesting to observe the definition of a ' dūta ' by Kāmandaka as an open (prakāśa) spy, and of a ' chāra ' as a spy who works in secret.[136] That a similar distinction was made between a chāra and a dūta under the Chālukyas is evident from the Mahākūṭa record[137] of Mangaleśa

which credits him with extraordinary skill in the selection of chāras and dūtas.

The Chālukya kings were fully conscious of their obligations connected with the administration of justice, which is one of the primary functions of a sovereign according to the Hindu concept of rājadharma.[138] Manu observes that a king who punishes those that do not deserve to be punished and does not punish those that deserve punishment incurs great obloquy and goes to hell.[139] The Chālukya records in their description of their attribues of the various rulers of the dynasty make special mention of their sense of justice. For instance, the Chiplūṇ plates of Pulakeśin II eulogise him as a king ' who punishes wicked people and receives with hospitality learned people.'[140] Naturally enough, though discharging of justice was thus one of his chief duties, the king could not personally dispose of the cases that were referred to him from the lower courts. He was assisted in the discharge of this obligation by a high and responsible officer who is called prādavivāka by ancient Smṛiti writers such as Gautama,[141] Nārada[142] and Brihaspati.[143] It is noteworthy that the office was known by this designation under the Rāshtrakūṭas[144] and it is possible that the term

was used under the Chālukyas as well, though there is no specific mention of it in the records that have so far come down to us. The court presided over by this officer was very probably styled the 'adhikarana.' In fact it appears under this name in the Mattavilāsaprahasana, a Sanskrit play written by the contemporary Pallava king Mahendravarman I, sometime during the first half of the seventh century.[145] The term also occurs in the earlier epigraphs of the Imperial Guptas.[146]

Another important officer connected with the system of judicature was the dandapāsika, who is mentioned in the records of the viceregal Chālukya house of Gujarāt[147] and the Sendrakas of Khandesh[148] as also in the Maitraka records.[149] He was in charge of criminal justice.

The executive officer entrusted with the duty of tracking down crimes was the chauroddharanika,[150] who was presumably the head of the police administration. The office is also mentioned in the Gupta,[151] Maitraka[152] and the Rāshtrakūta records[153] and may have corresponded to चौरोद्धर्तृ an officer mentioned by Yājñavalkya.[154] The chauroddharanika was charged specially with the investigation of thieves and other criminals.[155]

The actual watch and ward fell to the lot of the chaṭas and the bhaṭas,[156] who were policemen and and soldiers and who maintained peace and order in the localities under their authority. Their visitations must have been dreaded by the inhabitants, a reason which accounts for the fact that the chāṭas and the bhaṭas were expressly forbidden to enter villages given to the brahmins in charity.[157]

The ingress and egress of travellers was looked after by an officer called gamāgamika[158] rendered as an inspector of passport by Dr. Mirashi,[159] according to whom this office is similar to that of Kauṭilya's mudrādhyaksha.[160] Gamāgamika, however, cannot mean a messanger[161] as Dr. Kane would have us believe. True, Utpala commenting on the Brihatsaṁhitā explains dūta as gamāgamika.[162] But this could not have been the case under the Chālukyas. In point of fact the Navasārī grant[163] of Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin issued in A. D. 739 mentions dūta and gamāgamika as separate officers.

Following the ancient practice, the Chālukyas appointed their nearest relatives to the key positions in the empire. Thus for instance the administration of the northern parts of the empire was entrusted in

Pulakesin's time to the Chālukya Vijayarāja,[164] who was apparently a near relation of his, while during the rule of Vikramāditya I this region was placed in charge of Dharāsraya who was this latter's younger brother.[165] Dharāsraya proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him by Vikramāditya I. He defeated Vajraṭa whom we have identified with the Maitraka king Silāditya II,[166] while his son Avanijanāsraya Pulakesin checked the tide of Arab advance towards the South.[167]

For purposes of administrative convenience the empire was divided into territorial units such as Mandala,[168] vishaya,[169] desa,[170] rāshtra,[171] bhoga,[172] bhāga,[173] and nādu,[174] though, as would presently be seen the area denoted by them was not always uniform in size. In the Harihara plates of Vinayāditya issued in A. D. 694 mention is made of the Edevolal-bhāga of the Vanavāsi-mandala, while an inscription of the same monarch inscribed two years earlier[175] mentions a territorial unit by the name Edevolal-vishaya.[176] Now, if the Edevolal-vishaya coincided with the Edevolal-bhāga, it too must have been a part of the Vanavāsi-mandala, and consequently at this particular period the vishaya was a sub-division of the mandala in this

region and that it was synonymous with bhāga, and further that a mandala comprised several vishayas. This latter fact is clearly indicated in the Goa grant[177] of Dhruvarāja Indravarman issued in A.D.611, where the donor is described as ' vishaya-mandala Chatushtayā~dhipati' which should be translated as ' a governor of the mandala which included four vishayas ' and not as ' a governor of the four vishayas and mandalas' as has been wrongly construed by B. G. Sastri.[178] For the four vishayas together with the same number of mandalas would cover a considerable territory, and it is inconceivable that at such an early date as A. D. 590[179] --- the date of the appointment of Dhruvarāja Indravarman when the Chālukyas had just launched on their imperial career ---- they would have made over a major portion of the empire to be ruled by one of their subordinates. Our inference is corroborated by the Amarakośa[180] and the Sahyādrikhanda[181]. For according to the former[182] the words deśa, rāshṭra and vishaya were synonymous, while the latter lays down that a mandala is made up of four deśas.[183]

From the fact that almost invariably precedence is given to the rāshṭrapatis over the

vishayapatis and the grāmakūṭas in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records, Dr. Altekar has argued that rāshṭra was the largest administrative unit and vishaya was its subdivision.[184] But the order in which the hierarchy of officers is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kalachuri kings Samkaragana and Buddharāja and also those of the Gurjara rulers of Broach viz.,[185][186] राज-सामन्त भोगिक विषयपति राष्ट्र ग्राम महत्तराधि-कारिक or the kings, feudatories, bhogikas and heads of vishayas, the mahattaras of rāshṭras and villages and officials -- would show that the reconstruction of the system of administration attempted by Dr. Altekar, while it may be true of the later Rāshṭrakūṭa period, does not agree with the administrative set-up in the Chālukya empire. The epigraphs of the Chālukyas from Gujarāt use even a more simple formula, viz., vishayapati gramakūṭamahattara[187] or vishayapati gramābhogikamahattara[188] altogether omitting the rāshṭra while Manor plates of Vinayāditya place the rāshṭra in the order in which they mention various administrative units after the vishaya and the bhoga (vishayapati - bhogika-rāshṭragrāmakūṭa)[189], thus indicating that the rāshṭrakūṭa who apparently was the head of the territorial unit designated as rāshṭra, came in the

official hierarchy only next to the vishayapati, the lord of the vishaya and preceeded the grāmakūṭa or the village-headman.

A striking feature of the Chālukya administrative system is the absence of large divisions which in the words of Dr. Mahalingam[190] became the normal feature of administrative divisions of empire, in later periods of South Indian history. It was wise on the part of these rulers that they preferred for administrative purposes smaller divisions, the vishayas, corresponding to the districts of our day, thus minimizing the danger of a governor or a viceroy of a province asserting his independence taking advantage of the weakness at the centre.

These vishayas were made up of a collection of grāmas or villages, each village being in charge of a headman variously styled as grāmabhogika,[191] grāmakūṭa[192] or gāmuṇḍa.[193] The latter designation is a Kanarese term which appears in the Niluru,[194] Aḍūr[195] and Annigere[196] epigraphs of Kīrtivarman II. The headman was assisted by the karaṇas[197] or the village accountants in the administration of the village. Two other terms are mentioned in the records viz., Mahattara[198] in the Sātārā plates of Vishṇuvardhana and mahājana in the

inscriptions of Vijayāditya.[199] These terms are taken by Dr. Altekar as synonymous, meaning village elders.[200] There is no question that mahattara was a village elder -- a word surviving today in the Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāshṭra in the modern surnames Māhtārā and Mātre, while mahājana seems to indicate a member of a larger body, possibly the village community. That the mahājanas together with the mahattaras and the headman played a notable part in the administration of the village is attested by an inscription of Vijayāditya which[201] says that Benniyūr was governed by the mahājanas.[202] We know from other Chālukya epigraphs that their sanction was necessary for alienating lands in the village and that they shared a part of the tax for meeting the local expenditure.[203]

It is important to note that the practice of attaching numerical figures to the names of territorial divisions, which became a prominent feature under the Rāshṭrakūṭa and Kalyāṇī-Chālukya administrations, makes its appearance during the period of our study. Svāmichandra, the grandfather of Bhogaśakti, who was a feudatory of Vijayāditya is described[204] in the Ajneri grant of A. D. 710, to have governed the entire Koṅkana (country)

with Puri (as the chief city), the villages in which number fourteen thousand : (चतुर्दश ग्रामस - हस्रसंख्य सकलमपि पुरीकोङ्कणं) which should be taken as a conclusive proof that during the Chālukya period the numerical figure indicated the number of villages. This practice of mentioning the number of villages seem to have come into vogue towards the end of the Chālukya supremacy. In the reign of Vikramāditya II a lithic record[205] mentions Nāreyaṅgalla 50, while the first mention of Banavāsi 12000 occurs in the Didgūr record[206] of Kīrtivarman II.

Considerable light is thrown on the fiscal administration of the Chālukyas by the epigraphs and the Smṛiti literature of the period. The epigraphs record exemptions from taxes in cases of grants of lands and villages, and assignment of taxes for charitable purposes, thus supplying information about the taxes that were current in the Chālukya empire, while the latter supply the theoratical basis behind the fiscal administration. Some particulars are available in the account of Hiuen-Tsang which is an eye-witness account of the system.

The Smriti writers on the subject state that the taxation is kings wages (vetana) for the

protection he affords.[207] Manu compares the king taking taxes to the Sun that produces vapours from the seas (to return in the form of rain).[208] The injunction from the Udyogaparva of the Mahābhārata[209] that ' just as a bee draws honey but at the same time leaves the flowers uninjured, so the king should take wealth from men without harming them,' is apparently an advice for the kings to be judicious in matters of taxation.

' The principal and perennial sources of income to the state ' writes Dr. P. V. Kane, ' were three, viz., the king's share of the produce of land, tolls and custom duties, fines levied from wrongdoers or defeated litigants.'[210] Kara,[211] udranga,[212] uparikara,[213] klipta[214] and bhoga[215] are the various taxes mentioned in the epigraphs of the Chālukyas and their feudatories. The word kara appears to mean a tax in general and it is interesting to note that the Amarakośa[216] treats it as a synonymn for the word bali. After a learned discussion, Dr. Altekar shews that the term ' udranga ' stands for a land-tax, while ' klipta ' meaning assignment or settlement apparently of land-revenue,[217] is a synonymn for this tax.[218] The term ' uparikara ', which according to Dr. Altekar is identical with the

word ' bhogakara,' mentioned only as ' bhoga ' in the Chālukya records, seems to represent the petty taxes in kind that were to be paid to the king every day, such as fruits, flowers, vegetables, grass etc.[219]

Treasure troves and mines were considered state property.[220] We are told in the Hyderabad grant of Pulakeśin II that he donated the village of Makarappi with its nidhi (treasure) and upanidhi (deposit), while the term sajirakam occuring in the Godachi plates of Kīrtivarman I would indicate that whatever was hidden in the earth belonged to the king.[221] This is confirmed by the Sorab grant of Vinayāditya which states that the village of Salivoge was gifted away by the king together with the taxes as well as sahiranyam meaning whatever gold it may have contained.[222]

Taxes were paid both in cash and kind. A lithic record of Vijayāditya registers the gift of one sontige (ladleful) of oil from each oil-mill to the Bhaṭārar of Aihoḷe and a similar gift of fifty betel-leaves on each peru (bag) of betel-leaves to the shrine of Āditya at the same place is recorded in an inscription of Vikramāditya II.[223] The latter's queen Lokamahādevī levied two kula[224]

(i. e. kolaga of 64 seers) in the district Naregallan 50 from each mattar of land in favour of the temple of the Lokeśvara at Pattadakal.[225] Vijayāditya's mother made gifts of several taxes in kind like oil and sugar, to the shrine built by her at Bādāmi.[226] And finally, a basket of corn and offering of ghee were the contributions to the temple of Bhogeśvara as fixed by Bhogaśakti in his first set of the Ajaneri plates.[227]

This inscription of Bhogaśakti also records an instance of cash payments. The districts of Eastern Trikūṭa, Western Mahāgirihāra, Eastern Mahāgirikāra and Palludhamba were to contribute 100, 200, 100 and 50 Krishṇarāja-rūpakas respectively for the worship in the temple of Bhogeśvara.[228] Another instance of cash payment is provided by the Laxmeśvara epigraph of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya,[229] which seems to imply an annual payment of house-tax amounting to ten, seven, five and three paṇas, in the month of Vaiśākha, by the highest, intermediate, lower and the lowest householders respectively, to the governors of the district called deśādhigārigal which according to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri is a Kanarese equivalent of the Sanskrit vishayapati.[230]

There was a tax which the citizens were required to pay on the occasion of the celebration of festivals. This tax is mentioned in the Balagāmve record of Vinayāditya[231] and the Laxmeśvara epigraph of his grandson[232], while according to the aforementioned Ajaneri plates[233] the citizens were also required to contribute certain amount in cash or kind towards the expenses of lodging and bording of the officers (rājapurushānām) on tour.

The Balagāmve inscription[234] records rather a strange tax levied on the festival of attaining puberty, for the remittance of which a certain Kandarba obtained royal permission, on the occasion of his appointment as an officer (adhikāri).

Another tax called the vishti or forced labour is referred to in some of the records.[235] The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata says that everyone, however poor must contribute something to the finances of the realm.[236] Manu is more specific on the point when he lays down that workers, artisans and śudras who subsist by manual labour should be asked to contribute one day's work to the king in a month.[237] Such a tax could not possibly be collected in the central treasury, and therefore, must have

been realised either during the tours of the monarch and the officers of the state or through the daily routine work like the cleaning of the villages.

Yet another source of state income was what was known as aputradhanam, i.e. property of a person dying without sons, which according to the aforementioned Balagāmve,[238] Laxmeśvara[239] and Ajaneri[240] epigraphs was collected in the Chālukya treasury.

Besides the above mentioned taxes, śulka meaning tolls and custom duties which finds mention in the inscriptions of the period was another source of the state-income.[241] Vijñaneśvara states that 'śulka is of two kinds, what is levied on goods carried by land and what is carried by water.'[242] This is corroborated by a statement of Hiuen Tsang that ' tradesmen go to and fro bartering their merchandise after paying light duties at ferries and barrier stations.'[243] The aforementioned Ajaneri plates[244] refer to a special toll of one rupee (rūpaka) which was levied from 'each cart of the caravan on ingress and egress (at Jayapura) at the time of the yātrā festival of the god.' There is mention in the same Ajaneri plates of an octroi duty, from the payment of which certain

merchants residing in the village of Samagiripaṭṭana were exempted in the entire kingdom (śulkam-ādiyam samasta-rājye-nāsti)[245].

The Chālukyas possessed the rich hinterland of the Deccan plateau and commanded the finest harbours on the west coast, which were visited by the ships of the international markets of the east and the west.[246] It is known from the Kharepatan grant issued in the begining of the eleventh century by Raṭṭarāja of the Śilāhāra family that one golden gadiyāṇa was levied as duty on each vessel that came from another country, (dvipāntarāyāta-vahirāt) and one silver dharaṇa from every one coming from coastal ports calling at any port under the Śilāhāra jurisdiction.[247] Although there is no evidence of a similar tax in the Chālukya records so far discovered, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Chālukya administration also collected custom duties in like manner.

Hiuen Tsang mentions that ' certain offences can be atoned for by a money payment.'[248] And there is a specific mention in the Laxmeśvara epigraph of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya II of daśāparādha or ten offences for which the accused was liable to

pay a fine. Naturally enough, the income from such fines accrued to the public exchequer. According to Nārada[250] the daśāparādhas are: disobedience of the king's order, murder of a woman, confusion of varnas, adultery, theft, pregnancy from one not the husband, abuse and defamation, obscenity, assault and abortion. The aforementioned Ajaneri[251] plates add to the number of these offences when they lay down penalties for the commission of offences such as a violent offence against unmarried girls, adultery, boxing of the ears, injury to head, and for the offence commited against a labour-woman by a merchant's son.

Lastly, the spoils of war, tributes and gifts from feudatories and the other royal families were contributions that went to swell the royal exchequer. The epigraphs of the Chālukyas are eloquent on the large booty gathered as a result of their victories over the Kalachuris[252] and the Pallavas.[253] Thus, Vijayāditya's records tell us how Vinayāditya collected tribute from the rulers of the island of Simhala, Pārasika and Kamera.[254] The recently discovered Ulchala inscription of A. D. 730 - 31 describes[255] the return of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya after levying tribute from the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman II, while the Kolhapura plates of Vinayāditya contain

a graphic description of the presentation of tribute by the various vassals of the Chālukyas:[256]

> " : Oh! king, this is come from the Kūshaka king, this from the plentiful Lāṭa country, this crest present was sent by the queen of Strirājya. These are by the Kama (kama) king. This is presented by the kings of the Trairājya country.and this was got from the Pallava king.' Thus, the officers of the state are continuously announcing to the king the excellent tributes (ratna) received (in the palace)."

* * * * * * *

There is no room for doubt about the efficiency of the Chālukya armed forces. The Rāshṭrakūṭa chief Dantidurga considered it a matter of pride to have defeated the Chālukya army, designated ' Karṇāṭakabalam,' which was victorious against Harsha and Vajraṭa.[257] Hiuen-Tsang pays it a handsome tribute when he observes that even though Harsha directed against the Chālukyas the entire resources of his empire, it availed him nothing.[258] The people of Karṇāṭaka were noted for their prowess with the result that Karṇāṭaka and Lāṭa came to be the recruting ground for the armies of distant realms like Bengal.[259]

All the rulers of the Bādāmi - family,

from Pulakesin I to Kīrtivarman II were bent on expanding the boundaries of their empire and followed an aggresive policy. They personally commanded their troops on important military expeditions, undergoing long and hazardous journies, at a time when the system of transport and travelling was by no means comfortable.[260] The presence of their sovereign on the field of battle put heart into the Chālukyan armies and acted as a stimul[us] for the soldiers to fight unto death. Sometimes the soldiers themselves desired that their king should lead the army. Thus we are told in the Mahāvaṁsa that the Pallava troops, when Narasimhavarman Pallavamalla, their sovereign, came to see them off when they were about to embark for Ceylon to champion the cause of the Ceylonese king Mānavarman, wished that he [had] go[ne] with them to Ceylon.[261]

In the Aihole prasasti,[262] Ravikīrti refers to the six types of troops belonging to Pulakesin II, which must have included maula (hereditary troops), bhrta (hired-troops), śreṇi (guild-troops), mitra (troops of an ally or friendly power or feudatories), amitra (troops that once belonged to [an] enemy), and ātavika (wild-tribes as troops)

mentioned by Kauṭilya,[263] Kāmāndaka[264] and the Agni Purāṇa.[265] The Bādāmi cave inscription of Kīrtivarman I, on the otherhand, mentions the four component parts into which the Chālukya army was divided, viz., chariots, elephant corps, cavalry and infantry.[266] This evidence is further corroborated by the account of Hiuen-Tsang who also mentions the very same divisions.[267] It would appear from the way the inscriptions of the period describe the part played by the elephant corps, cavalry and infantry, that these were the mainstay of the army in the seventh century, and the chariots as an arm of warfare were fast loosing their importance, even though they are mentioned in the epigraphs and there is a specific reference to a rathakāra in the Kaumudīmahotsava.[268] The war elephants which are eulogised for the victories of Pulakeśin II were[269] covered according to the Chinese pilgrim with a coat of mail and their tusks were provided with sharp barbs.[270] During this period the head of the elephant corps was designated mahāpīlupati and the chief of cavalry was styled bṛihadasvavara as in the armies of Harsha or mahāśvapati as in those of the imperial Guptas.[271] Sometimes the kings had their own favourite chargers like the Chitrakantha[272][273][274][275]

of Vikramāditya I and Atiśaya of his Pallava opponent Parameśvaravarman I.[276]

Hiuen-Tsang who had a close look at the Chālukya veterans praises their dauntless courage when he writes:[277]

> 'The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundred. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challange them in fight. Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover, they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants treats his neighbours with contempt.'

Picturesque descriptions of the battles in which the Chālukya armies engaged their opponents are given by the Aihole praśasti of Pulakeśin II,[278] the Navasārī plates of Avanijanāśraya,[279] the Kūram plates of Pallava Parameśvaravarman I and the[280] Velvikuḍi grant of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭilavarman.[281]

These military encounters caused much bloodshed and suffering, the battle of Kuṇāla fought

by Pulakeśin II for instance being a veritable carnage.[282] On these occasions large booty fell into the hands of the victors consisting of elephants, horses,[283] jewels, bullion and sometimes even women.[284] At times, the victorious party indulged in wanton distruction, as was done by Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I at Vātāpi.[285] It therefore redounds to the glory of Vikramāditya II of the Chālukya family that he showed a remarkable restraint in his treatment of the enemy capital.[286] He not only abstained from destroying Kāñchīpuram but also returned the enormous amount of wealth to the temple of Kailāsanātha, which presumably had been plundered by his invading officers.[287]

It was expected of the armies that they should do or die, and the maxim as expressed in Goldsmith's lines:

' For he who fights and runs away
May live to fight another day
But he who is in the battle slain
Could never rise and fight again.'

never seems to have been acknowledged as lawful to the combatants; on the contrary[288] as Hiuen-Tsang has observed ' if a general looses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself.'

As we have already seen, the women of the

royal household often accompanied the military expeditions.[289] This custom must have affected the mobility of the armies. With the little evidence at our disposal we do not know if the officers and soldiers of the marching army were as well allowed to be accompanied by their wives. The custom could not have prevailed among the ordinary soldiers as well, for if it did, it would have led to immobility of the Chālukya forces. It is worthy of note that Kautilya sternly forbids the presence of women in the army.[290]

Although details are lacking about the navy, we know it for a fact, that the Chālukyas employed it to reduce the seagirt strong-holds of Purī and Revatī on the west coast.[291] [292]

Enough troops seem to have been maintained at the viceregal headquarters, or else it would not have been possible for Avanijanāśraya to stem the tide of the Arab advance through Gujarāt,[293] when Vikramāditya II, the emperor at Bādāmi, was busy settling his counts with his foes in distant South.

The weapons of war mentioned in the inscriptions are many and included swords of different shapes and size, lances, pikes, darts, clubs, discuses

and javelins. The army used conches, kattle-drums and horns as its musical instruments, and had no use for any special instrument such as the dakkā[294] drum, which was current in North India and the katumukhavādrita and samudraghosha which were[295] associated with the armies of the Pallavas.

Proficient as they were in state-craft and military matters the Chālukyas could not have been unaware of the importance of fortresses in the defence of the kingdom. In point of fact, the very first known epigraph of the family, namely the Bādāmi[296] cliff inscription of A. D. 543, records the construction of a fortress ' impregnable from below and above ' by Pulakeśin I. The cities were defended by walls[297] and the inscriptions refer to Kāñchī whose walls were difficult to breach and whose large rampart was insurmountable. These walls were surrounded by a moat, and the one surrounding Kāñchī is described as[298] ' unfathomable and hard to be crossed.'

It is therefore no wonder what with the efficiency of their administrative and military-organisation the Chālukyas lorded it over the Deccan for well-nigh two centuries.

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(180) Amarasiṁha, Amarakoṡa, I, v. 8.

(181) Sahyādrikhaṇḍa, Uttarārdha, Ch. IV.

(182) Supra, n. 180.

(183) Supra, n. 181.

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(184) Altekar, op. et loc. cit., pp. 136 ff.

(185) Mirashi, op. et. loc. cit., Nos. 12, 14 & 15.

(186) Ibid., Nos. 16, 17, 19, 20 and 21.

(187) Ibid., No. 28.

(188) Ibid., No. 29.

(189) Supra, n. 102.

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(190) Mahalingam, South Indian Polity, p. 303.

(191) Supra, n. 188.

(192) Supra, n. 187.

(193) Rao, Laxminarayana, ' Annigeri Inscription of Kīrtivarman (II), the sixth year,' EI, vol. XXI, pp. 204 - 206.

(194) SII, vol. IX, pt. I, p.28.

(195) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, pp. 4 ff.

(196) Supra, n. 193.

(197) Supra, n. 195.

(198) Supra, n. 172.

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(199) ARSIE, 1933 - 34, pp. 119, ff. App. E.No.16.

(200) Altekar, op. et loc. cit., pp. 199-208.

(201) Supra, n. 199.

(202) SII, vol. IX, pt.I, No.48.

(203) SII, vol. IX, pt.I, pp. 28-29.;
ARSIE, 1921, No. 346.

(204) Supra, n. 42.

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(205) Fleet, ' Inscription of Vikramāditya II in the Virūpākṣha temple at Paṭṭadakal,'
IA, vol. X, p. 167.

(206) Fleet, ' Three Inscriptions in the Dhārwār District,'
EI, vol. VI, pp. 251 ff.;

Altekar, op. et loc.cit., pp. 139 - 149.

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(207) Kane, op. cit., vol. III, p. 189.

(208) Manu, op. cit., IX, v. 305.

(209) Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, Ch. 34, vv.17-18.

(210) Kane, op. et loc. cit., p. 190.

(211) Supra, n. 169.

(212) Supra, n. 32.

(213) Fleet, 'W. Chalukya Grant of Pulikeśi II,' IA, vol. VI, pp. 72 ff.

(214) Ibid.

(215) Supra, n. 10.;

Bhandarkar, ' Jejuri Plates of Vinayāditya,' EI, vol. XIX, pp. 62 ff.

(216) Amarasiṁha, op. cit. VIII, v. 27.

(217) Altekar, op. et loc. cit., pp. 213 ff.

(218) Sastri, Nilakanta, ' The Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi,' EHCD, p. 238.

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(219) Altekar, op. et loc. cit., pp. 213 ff.;

Bhandarkar, art. et loc. cit.

(220) Supra, n. 213.

(221) Supra, n. 18.

(222) Supra, n. 169.

(223) Fleet, ' Inscription of Vijayāditya at Aihole,' IA, vol. VIII, pp. 285. ff.

(224) Fleet, ' Inscription of Vikramāditya II at Aihole,' IA, vol. VIII, p. 286.

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(225) Supra, n. 205.

(226) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, pp. 2 ff (No.2.).

(227) Supra, n. 42.

(228) Ibid.

(229) Supra, n. 2.

(230) Sastri, Nilakanta, art. et loc. cit., p. 237.

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(231) Supra, n. 1.

(232) Supra, n. 2.

(233) Supra, n. 42.

(234) Supra, n. 1.

(235) Mirashi, op. et loc. cit., No.16.

(236) Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 87, v. 15.

(237) Manu, op. cit, VII, 137-138.

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(238) Supra, n.1.

(239) Supra, n.2.

(240) Supra, n. 42.

(241) Supra, n. 226.

(242) Vijñāneśvara, op. cit., on Yājñavalkya, II, v. 263.

(243) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 176-177.

(244) Supra, n. 42.

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(245) Ibid.

(246) Kane, ' Ancient History and Geography of Koṅkaṇ,' JOC, vols. I - II, pp. 365 -392.

(247) Kielhorn, ' Kharepatan Plates of Rattarāja, Śaka 930,' EI, vol. III, pp. 292 -302.

(248) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, p. 172.

(249) Supra, n.2.

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(250) Kane, op. cit., p. 264.

(251) Supra, n. 42.

(252) Supra, ns. 10 and 34.

(253) Supra, ns. 22, 25, 46, 61 and 63.

(254) Supra, ns. 46 and 61.

(255) AI. no.5, p. 54.

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(256) Panchamukhi, ' A Copper-plate grant of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya A. D. 693,' Annual Report of Kannada Research in Bombay Province 1940 - 41, pp. 9- 10.

(257) Fleet, ' Rāshṭrakūṭa Grant of Dantidurga- S. 675,' IA, vol. XI. p.112.

(258) Watters, op. cit., vol II, pp. 239.

(259) Hultzsch, ' Bhāgalpur Plate of Nārāyaṇapāla,' IA, vol. XV, pp. 304 ff.

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(260) Supra, ns. 4, 22, 46, 49, 61 and 63.

(261) Mahāvaṅśa, Ch. 47.

(262) Supra, n. 4.

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(263) Kauṭilya, op. cit., Bk. IX, Ch.2.

(264) Kāmandaka, op. cit., XVIII, 4.

(265) Agnipurāṇa, Ch. 242, vv. 1-2.

(266) Supra, n. 33.

(267) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, p. 171.

(268) Supra, ns. 4 and 10.

(269) Vijjakā, op. cit., p. 51 (Text); p. 99 (Trans.).

(270) Supra, n. 4.

(271) Supra, n. 267.

(272) Supra, pp. 121 - 122.

(273) Ghoshal, ' Political Theory and Administrative Organization,' CA, p. 349.

(274) Ibid., p.343.

(275) Supra, ns. 22, 25, 46 and 61.

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(276) Hultzsch, ' A Pallava Grant from Kūram,' SII, vol. I, pt. IV, pp. 144 ff.

(277) Watters, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 239 -40.

(278) Supra, n. 4.

(279) Supra, n. 163.

(280) Supra, n. 276.

(281) Sastri, H.K., ' Velvikudi Grant of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan,' EI, vol. XVII, pp. 291 - 309.

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(282) Supra, n. 4.

(283) Supra, n. 10, 22, 25, 34, 46, 61 and 63.

(284) Supra, n. 281.

(285) Supra, pp. 156 -57.

(286) Hultzsch, ' Kāñchī Inscription of Vikramāditya,' EI, vol. III, pp. 359 -60.

(287) Ibid.

(288) Watters, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 239-40.

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(289) Supra, ns. 25 and 49.

(290) Kauṭilya, op. cit., Bk. VIII, Ch.V.

(291) Supra, n. 4.

(292) Ibid.

(293) Supra, n. 163.

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(294) Supra, ns. 46, 61 and 63.

(295) Supra, ns. 22 and 63.

(296) Supra, n.43.

(297) Supra, n. 25, 46, 61 and 63.

(298) Ibid.

CHAPTER II.

SOCIETY.

The epigraphical, sculptural and literary evidence affords valuable glimpses of society during the Chālukya period. There is a wealth of material supplied by the sculptures and the paintings on the walls of the caves and the temples at Bādāmi, Aihole, Paṭṭadakal, Mahākūteśvara, Ajantā, Ellora and Kanheri on social customs, system of education, costumes, ornaments, coiffure and domestic furniture. Similarly, interesting information about the life of the people is yielded by Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's Kaumudīmahotsava, the the works of Bāṇa, Dandin, Vākpati, Varāhamihira and Vātsyāyana, while Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing give an account of India as viewed by discriminating foreigners.

Society was based on the age-old system of caste. In his Godachi grant[1] Kīrtivarman I is said to have ' kept all his subjects contented by protecting them according to the rule of the Varṇāśramadharma.' In his general remark about the people of India, Hiuen Tsang observes[2]: ' There are four orders of hereditary clan distinctions, The first is that of Brahmin or

" purely living;' these keep their precepts and live continently strictly observing ceremonial purity. The second order is that of the Kshatriyas, the race of Kings; this order has held sovereignty for many generations, and its aims are benevolence and mercy.' Elsewhere, the pilgrim remarks ' the Kshatriyas and Brahmins are clean-handed and unostentatious, pure and simple in life and very frugal.'[3] About the remaining two castes -- those of the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras -- the pilgrim observes[4] that ' the third order is that of the Vaiśyas or class of traders, who barter comodities and pursue gain far and near. The fourth class is that of the Śūdras or agriculturists; these toil at cultivating the soil and are industrious at sowing and reaping.'

The Brāhmaṇas no doubt stood highest in the social hierarchy. The Chālukya copper-plate grants which mention the special branch of study of the Brāhmaṇa donnees show that they were ' learned men of the land,' and enable us to form an estimate of the entire corpus of knowledge cultivated in the Chālukya kingdom. Bādāmi, the capital, was itself an important seat of religious learning. It is styled an adhisthāna with several thousands of Brāhmaṇas

well-versed in fourteen vidyās (chāturdasavidyopalakshita) consisting of four Vedas, six Aṅgas, Dharmaśāstra, Mimāmsā, Tarka and Purāṇa.[5]

One of the twenty Brāhmaṇa donees of the Honnur plates[6] of Vikramāditya I was well-versed in such subjects as the Veda, Vedāṅga, Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Dharmaśāstra. In the Mārutūru grant of Pulakeśin II,[7] eleven donees are mentioned, of whom three were ' chāturvedins ' or learned in the four Vedas, three were ' asiti tarkaka ' meaning well-versed in the 'eighty branches of logic,' one was ' grihita sahasra ' meaning probably ' proficient in a thousand branches of learning,' two were ' sahasra tarkaka,' meaning apparently ' learned in thousand branches of logic,' and the last one was ' varṇathraya nivritha ' which is translated as ' one who has achieved good results in learning of the three varnas.' Some of the Brāhmaṇas specialised also in the secular branches of learning as is shown by the Godachi grant in which Vyāghrasvāmin is described as mahā-brāhmaṇa, and is said to have been proficient in grammar, logic, poetry, drama, historical literature, music and Purāṇas.[8]

The Brāhmaṇas would also appear to have

enlisted themselves in government service. The Manor grant of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa[9] speaks of a certain Bhaṭṭa Rudranāga, son of Kumārasvāmidikshita, who held the triple portfolios of the foreign-minister or mahāsandhivigrahika, the revenue-minister or akshapatalādhikrta and the chief of the secretariat or divirapati, while Vyāghrasvāmin mentioned in the Godachi grant[10] was probably the prime minister of Kīrtivarman I. Both were Brāhmaṇas as their cognomens Bhaṭṭa and svāmi would indicate.

It is on account of prominence which the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed that India received the name of 'Brāhmaṇ-country' (Po-lo-mēn-kuo)[11] in China. It would appear that the rulers of the Bādāmi house followed the injunctions of Yājñavalkya that ' it was the duty of a king to support the śrotriyas '[12] (learned Brāhmaṇas). They made generous donations of land and at times of entire villages in favour of Brāhmaṇas with a view to facilitate their scholastic pursuits as well as the observance of certain religious rites like the Pañchamāhayajñas, referred to as bali-charu-vaisvadeva-agnihotra-atithi[13] in the Chālukya epigraphs. It was believed that such donations would promote religious merit and fame

of the donor as well as that of his mother and father.

The Brāhmaṇas when young would seem to have been trained for the duties of their caste in institutions known variously as Munivana or Tapovana.[14] These were hermitages in which inmates led a very simple life and the Kaumudīmahotsava describes the students in garments of the barks of trees collecting sacrificial grass and flowers in the āśrama of Muni Jābāli.[15] A sculptured panel from the contemporary temple at Pattadakal is an exquisite illustration of the life in hermitage.[16] The representation of wild animals in the foreground and the trees in the background suggest that the scene is laid in the forest.[17] At once recognizable on account of his beard and long hair, the rishi is depicted expounding some point under consideration, while the two young diciples, with books shaped like the scores of discovered manuscripts, listening intently to the master's discourse are definitely the members of the student community of the āśrama.[18] The parrot on the swing hanging near the entrance of the thatched hut, the antelope resting without any apprehension and the monkeys busy at their pranks remind us of the similar pen-picture of the āśrama environments from the Abhijñānaśākuntalam.[19]

The teacher according to Hiuen-Tsang[20] was expected to possess ' a wide, thorough and minute knowledge of the subject, with an exhaustive comprehension of all that is abstruse in them.' The pilgrim's observation also provides a glimpse of the method of teaching:[21] ' These teachers explain the general meaning (to their disciples) and teach them minutiae; they rouse them to activity and skil fully win them to progress; they instruct the inert and sharpen the dull. When disciples, intelligent and actute, are addicted to idle shirking, the teachers doggedly preserve repeating instruction until their training is finished. When the disciples are thirty years old, their minds being settled and their education finished, they go into office; and the first thing they do then is to reward the kindness of their teachers.' The last statement of the pilgrim receives corroboration from the recently published epigraphs of Pulakesin II[22] and his son Vikramāditya I.[23] The preceptor of the Kadamba queen of the former was presented with the tax-free land,[24] while a village was granted by Vikramāditya I[25] in favour of his guru Sudarśanāchārya as a guru-dakshiṇā, on the occasion of his Śiva-maṇḍala-dikshā.

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I-tSing, on the other hand, thus describes[26] the duties of a pupil towards his master: ' He goes to his teacher at the first watch and the last watch in the night ..... The pupil rubs the teacher's body, folds his clothes or sometimes sweeps the apartment and the yard. This is the manner in which one pays respect to one's superiȣ. On the other hand in case of a pupil's illness his teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicine needed and pays attention to him as if he was child.' Again it is from the same authority we know that a pupil inquired every morning about the teacher's health, studied the scriptures and waited for the teacher's permission to take his meal.[27]

The observation of the Chinese pilgrim regarding the Kshatriyas being ' a race of Kings '[28] is not entirely correct. As he himself has acknowledged about his patron Harsha, the latter was a Vaiśya[29] and, we know from his account that a Śūdra king held sway in Sindh[30] at the time of his visit. On the otherhand we know for certain that the Kadamba house of Banavāsi was of Brāhmana origin.[31] Nothing succeeds like success and whatever may have been their origin the moment their power was acknowledged they were ranked with

the blue blooded military aristrocracy of India. Following as they did an aggressive policy the Chālukyas maintained a large army, which presumably consisted of goodly number of Kshatriya soldiers. The ideal held before the warrior was that it was more honourable to die on the field of battle than a natural death at home, and to be put on his mettle in a hardly contested field was regarded as fulfilment of duty towards his sovereign.[32]

Naturally enough, the Kshatriyas from tender age underwent ~~military~~ training in the art of warfare. Nevertheless, military training dominating as it did the curricula, could not have so monopolized their time as to exclude other branches of learning. In fact the epigraphical evidence bears witness to the learning of the Chālukya kings like Vinayāditya,[33] Vijayāditya,[34] Vikramāditya II[35] and Kīrtivarman II,[36] in addition to proficiency they acquired in the use of arms at a very tender age. Again Maṅgaleśa's proficiency in the science of diplomacy forms the subject of a eulogy in his Mahākūṭa record.[37]

The merchants referred to as vaṇijas and vaṇikas in the two sets of the Ajneri[38] plates of

Bhogaśakti, a feudatory of the Chālukyas, formed the third class, that of the Vaiśyas, who were engaged in trade and industry. This class together with the peasants were surely the country's pride and were instrumental in increasing its wealth. The Chinese pilgrim[39] speaks of the shops while an inscription of Vijayāditya[40] mentions a tax which the shops at Bādāmi had to pay. The merchant class must have been very enterprising to earn the praise of the pilgrim[41] that they ' pursue gain far and near.' In the Chālukya kingdom they must have conducted brisk inland as well as foreign trade. The foreign trade passed through the excellent ports which the Chālukyas possessed on the western seaboard, some of which like Kallian and Sibor, the present Kalyāṇa and Chaul on the Konkan coast are mentioned by Kosmas Indikopleustes.[42] The merchants travelled a great deal inland carrying their wares from one place to another, and were required to pay octroi duties when they did so.[43] They formed an esteemed section of the society and were allowed a say in certain matters of local importance. As mentioned in the Ajneri[44] plates the decision with regarding to payment of fines for certain offences was left to their discretion. They also acted as custodians of the

donations made in favour of the temples and were entrusted with the arrangements of the local yātrā festivals.[45]

The education of the Vaiśyas was so planned as to equip them with the necessary knowledge for business career. A Vaiśya or a member of mercantile class, according to Manu, was to have knowledge of the value of gems, pearls, corals, metals, cloth, perfumes and condiments, of the manner of sowing seeds and the qualities of soils, of weights and measures, of the varieties of merchandise and the probable loss in its traffic, of means of rearing cattle, of the wages of servants of different languages and different countries.[46] According to Divyāvadāna, a Buddhist work probably of the fourth century, the sons of rich merchants were supposed to possess knowledge of writing and arithmetic, as well as of coins, debts and deposits, examination of gems and houses, of elephants and horses, of young men and women.[47] But we possess no means of knowing whether any, and if so which of these branches of knowledge were actually learnt by the Vaiśyas in the Chālukya empire. All the same there could scarcely be any doubt that a large number of members of the

mercantile community must have been acquainted with arithmetic, accounts and banking to fulfil the demands arising out of the very nature of their profession.

In the organisation of various industries guild system continued to play the prominent part during the Chālukya period that it did under the earlier Sātavāhana administration.[48] The guild of oil-pressers telligara-śreṇi, and of blaziers or Kanchigara-śreṇi are mentioned in the Laxmeśvara inscription of Vikramāditya II,[49] while a lithic epigraph from Paṭṭadakal refers to a guild of architects, which was known as ' Sarva-siddhi-Ācharyas.'[50] The sculptural evidence of the period shows that ornaments of pearl, gold and precious stones were in fashion and were worn by both men and women.[51] And hence, it is not unlikely that goldsmiths and jewellers too had their own guilds. The Śreṇis as they are styled in the inscriptions[52] were corporate bodies wielding great influence in the state.[53] ' Śreṇi-dharma ' or the usage of guilds had the force of law.[54] They afforded great protection to the interests of their trade and craft and we are told by Brihaspati that all members were equal partners to the profits earned.[55] The members on their part said Kātyāyana were bound to follow their

respective conventions in all their acts.[56] Brihaspati even prescribed the extreme penalty of confiscation of property and banishment for a member who failed to perform his share of the responsibility inspite of his being capable of doing it.[57]

The business transactions would seem to have been carried on in cash as well as through barter.[58][59] The Chālukya epigraphs mention three types of coins, viz., Gadyāna,[60] Dharaṇa[61] and Pāṇa.[62] The Gadyāna which later came to be known as the Varāha or the Pagoda[63] was a gold coin weighing about 52 grains.[64] It is not unlikely that two of the Chālukya coins illustrated on the Plate II (figs: 9–10 .), whose weight vary from 55 to 58 grains according to Elliot,[65] are actually the Gadyāṇas mentioned in the Chālukya epigraph from Aihole.[66] The coin having the 1/4 value of the Gadyāṇas or Varāha or Pagoda was known as Dharaṇa.[67] According to Brown it was rectangular or circular flat piece of silver or sometimes of copper cut from the hammered sheet and clipped to the proper weight, with a number of symbols impressed on one or both the sides.[68][69] Finally, the Pana weighed about 5 to 6 grains and was thus of smaller value than the Dharaṇa and Gadyāṇa.

The numismatists are, however, agreed on[70] the point that a coin type which has the boar on its obverse must have been initiated by the Chālukyas of Bādāmi who had as their crest the Varāhalāñchhana. But, all the coins of this type discovered so far can not be ascribed to the Bādāmi-Chālukyas, as this particular type of coinage was continued by later dynasties as late as the Vijayanagar period.[71]

The Chālukyas would appear to have imitated the ' padmaṭaṅka ' coins struck by their predecessors the Kadambas of Banavāsi, except for the Boar-crest which was their family emblem.[72] ' Padmaṭaṅkas ' of the Kadambas were cup-shaped gold coins and were so designated on account of the symbol of lotus in their centre, around which they had the punched symbols of a conch (śaṅkha) and a wheel (Chakra).[73] The Chālukyas who continued this type of coinage replaced the lotus of the earlier coins by the impression of a Boar. Sir Walter Elliot mentions[74] such uninscribed gold coins which were discovered in the Southern Maratha country and the district of Bellary. Some of these have a Boar in the centre surrounded by punched symbols such as a conch (śaṅkha), a wheel (Chakra), a bow and two Śris on its obverse and a few indented lines on the reverse (Plates: II , No. 7); while

others have a Boar with trappings on one side and floral design or the sun on the other side (Plate II[75] Nos. 8-10), their weight varying from 55 to 58 grains.

The Chālukyas also permitted the circulation of the coins of the earlier dynasties in their kingdom. This is illustrated by the Ajaneri[76] plates issued by their feudatory Bhogaśakti in the first decade of the seventh century which contain a reference to the use of ' Krishṇarājarupakas ' in the region now represented by the district of Nasik. Krishṇarājarupakas were the silver coins struck by the Kalachuri king Krishṇarāja[77] (A. D. 550 - 575)., about one and half century before their mention in the Ajneri Plates.

Finally, as noticed above,[78] Hiuen Tsang mentions the fourth class, the Śūdras. He, however, considers them farmers,[79] where as according to Manu farming was the profession of the Vaiśyas, while the function of the Śūdra caste was to serve the three castes above them. As recorded by the Chinese Pilgrim, there were other castes besides, such as the butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavangers, each set living apart with their habitations marked by a distinguishing

sign.'[80] They were 'forced to live outside the city' and had 'to sneak along on the left when going about in the hamlets.'[81]

It may be noted in passing that in his Brihatsaṁhitā[82], Varāhamihira like Kauṭilya[83] assigns the different quarters of a city to the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. His attitude towards the other low castes is reflected in the recommendation that the 'corners of a city or village or house are declared to be auspicious for Chaṇḍālas and such other low castes, though unsuitable for others.'[84]

It is interesting ~~to note~~ that Hiuen Tsang took particular care to note the characteristic traits of the people of Mahārāshṭra (Mo-ho-la-ch'a), the designation by which he refers to the kingdom of Pulakeśin II:[85]

> 'The disposition of the people is honest and simple, they are tall of structure, and of stern vindictive character. To their benefactors they are grateful; to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their life to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge they first give their enemy warning; then each being armed they attack each other with lances (spears)'.

These remarks of the Chinese pilgrim are corroborated by an inscription inscribed during the Chālukya period, on the wall of the northern fort of Bādāmi[86] which uses almost identical words speaking of some celebrity: ' Better is a glorious death than the destruction of reputation: death is a pain that lasts only for an instant; but the destruction of reputation abides from day to day.'[87]

It may be inferred from the sculptures and paintings of the period that the women enjoyed a considerable freedom of movement. They are represented recreating themselves in parks and gardens[88] playing music on stringed and wind instruments.[89]

Although it is not possible to generalize from the solitary instance of the celebrated poetess queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, it is not unlikely that women were taught the three R's and even went in for higher studies. We have the testimony of Vātsyāyana[90] who mentions princesses and daughters of nobles as examples of women whose intellect was sharpened by the knowledge of Śāstras, and he gives in his Kāmasūtra an elaborate list of sixty-four subsidiary branches of knowledge which should be learnt by women,[91] some of which included solving

word-riddles, completing unfinished verses and recitation, none of which could be indulged in without a fair measure of literacy. There is ample evidence in literary works such as the Kaumudīmahotsava[92] and Kādambari[93] that painting, dancing and singing figured prominently in the training of girls. This evidence is further supported by a contemporary fresco[94] in the third cave at Bādāmi where a woman is shown dancing to the orchestral accompaniment provided by female musicians who included two flute players, a drummer, a aṅkya-mṛidanga player and a cymbal player. The dancer with her legs crossed is almost in the prishthavastikā attitude, the right hand being in danda and the left in the kaṭakamukha position. Moreover, there are references in the inscriptions to the preceptors of the princesses such as is mentioned in the Mānakūru plates of Pulakesin II.[95] This epigraph registers a grant made by the monarch to please the svaguru or the preceptor of his first queen of the Kadamba family.[96]

About the practice relating to marriage Hiuen Tsang remarks:[97] ' The members of a caste marry within the caste the great and obscure keeping apart. Relations whether by the father's or mother's

side do not intermarry and a woman never contracts a second marriage.' Vātsyāyana expresses similar opinion when he declares that the blessings of (lawful) progeny, fame and public approval are obtained by a man uniting himself according to canonical rites with a virgin of the same varna.[98] From this it appears that generally the marriages were arranged within a caste, but there are authentic instances of the inter-caste marriages which show that marriage with a member belonging to the same varna had not acquired rigidity, a feature which became the rule during the post-Chālukyan era.[99] We know for instance that a daughter of Harsha of Thāneśvara, who was a Vaiśya, was married into the Kshatriya family of the Maitrakas.[100] Pulakeśin II, himself a Kshatriya, married a Kadamba princess of the Brāhmaṇa family.[101] A still better instance is that of the father of Bāṇa, who married a Śūdra woman by whom he had two sons.[102]

The evidence supplied by the Kaumudīmahotsava would show that marriage was normally settled by the parents or elderly relatives of the two parties. In this play the king Kīrtisena dispatches his purohita to the court of Kalyāṇavarman

with the proposal of marriage of his daughter princess Kīrtimati with the latter monarch and in the absence of the parents of the king his aged minister Mantragupta arranges the royal betrothal.[103] The people must have taken the cue from the court and arranged engagements of their sons and daughters in similar fashion, resulting in one or the other of the four forms of marriage recommended by the smritis, namely Bramha,[104] Prajāpatya,[105] Ārsha[106] and Daiva.[107] There is epigraphical evidence for the prevelance of at least one of the four forms of marriage not favoured by the smritis. The Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra, Dantidurga's father, married a Chālukya princess by the Rākshasa form of marriage.[108]

A sculptural representation of the marriage of Pārvati, the daughter of Himālaya, with Śiva in the first cave at Bādāmi may be taken to represent the actual wedding ceremony.[109] It shows the procession wending towards the brides' house headed by holy men with matted hair. Brahmā who is performing the Homa sacrifice for the marriage personates the purohita who performed the wedding ceremony. The fire on the altar is represented by a conical mound and Brahmā holds a sacrificial ladle in his hand

from which he is pouring a libation of clarified butter on the fire. To the right of the altar stood the bridegroom as does Śiva in the panel, holding the hand of the bride. This is the main part of the ceremony known as the pāṇigrahaṇa[110] during which the bridegroom accepts the bride as she is given away ceremoniously by her father. This acceptance is symbolised by the holding of the hand of the maiden who stands on his proper left. The father of the bride is represented as standing between them and is pouring water from a kamandalu on their hands, which completes the ceremony of kanyā-dāna[111], i.e. giving away of the daughter. There was always a distinguished gathering at the weddings as the presence of heavenly personages like Vishnu and Indra at this wedding of Śiva and Pārvati would indicate. The ceremony depicted in this bas-relief agrees in its essential details with the wedding ceremony of Harsha's sister Rājyaśrī described at length by Bāṇa[112]. Obviously, the ordinary citizens could scarcely afford the pomp and circumstance displayed at the royal weddings, but there can hardly be any doubt that the celebrations were kept up according to one's status.

The ideal of devotion of a wife to her husband seems to have been popular during the period. The contemporary interpretation of this ideal is found in the epigraphs such as the Mahākūṭa inscription,[113] which compares Durlabhadevi the queen of Pulakeśin I to Mahāpativritā Damayanti, who thought nothing of herself in the steadfast devotion to her husband Nala.[114] Again, the Māruṭūru grant of Pulakeśin II compares his queen of the Kadamba family with the ancient classical examples of feminine devotion and fidelity like Sāvitri, Suvarchalā, Arundhati, Svāhā and Śachi.

The fact that Durlabhadevi[115] and Vinayavati,[116] respectively the queens of Pulakeśin I and Vinayāditya survived their husbands to make donations during the reigns of their sons would show that the practice of sati was not common, though the rite was not unknown. In his Harshacharita Bāṇa shows Princess Rājyaśri on the point of entering the funeral pyre on the death of her husband,[117] while in the Kaumudīmahotsava the hero of the play is made to say that his mothers sacrificed their lives on hearing the news of his father's demise.[118] On the other hand, it would appear that the Chālukya administration did not recognise

widow's right to inherit her husband's property. We are expressly told in the Balagāmve[119], Laxmeśvara[120] and Ajaneri[121] records that the property of a person dying without sons (aputradhanam) should escheat to the state. Earlier Dharmasūtra writers like Baudhāyana[122], Apastamba[123] and Manu[124] also did not recognise widow's right to inherit property. This rule was obviously unfair to the widow who must have found it extremely difficult to maintain herself and her self-respect. Indian jurists gradually realised that this was not a satisfactory arrangement and in the Arthaśāstra, we find Kauṭilya making a widow's maintenance a charge upon the husband's estate on its requisition by the state.[125] Vishnu[126] and Yājñavalkya[127] were the first to champion widow's right, but their proposal was considered sensational and was opposed by Nārada[128] and Kātyāyana.[129] The difference of opinion on this point among the ancient jurists continued from A. D. 400 to 1000,[130] and the epigraphs,[131] just referred to would show that the Chālukya administrators followed the orthodox view and did not recognise the widow as an heir to her husband's property.

There was a class of women who took to prostitution. The references to the prostitute

quarters and prostitutes in the Kaumudīmahotsava would show that their apartments were elegantly furnished and tastefully decorated.[132] They took special care to cultivate captivating manners and adorning their persons. In point of fact the Kaumudīmahotsava shows an inmate of the prostitute quarter studying the Dattakasūtra,[133] a treatise on Kāmaśāstra, which according to Vātsyāyana[134] was specially written for the women of Pāṭaliputra by a certain Dattaka. However, the profession was looked down upon and frequenting of their abodes was viewed unfavourably.[135]

A general idea about the cities and houses during our period could be gained from some of the observations made by Hiuen Tsang. The towns and cities were surrounded by qudrangular walls which were broad and high while the thoroughfares were narrow and winding.[136] Regarding the construction of houses the pilgrim remarks, ' the country being low and moist, houses and enclosures are of wattled bamboo or wood, Their halls and terraced belvederes have wooden flat-roofed rooms and are coated with chunam, and covered with tiles burnt or unburnt. The houses thatched with coarse grass

are of bricks or boards; their walls ornamented with chunam; the floor is purified with cowdung and strewn with flowers of the season. The inner-rooms and the central hall vary in their dimensions. Their doors open to the east.'[137] These houses had a plain exterior, but were sumptuous within.[138]

The houses were furnished with corded benches of various types and sizes and the cots[139] corded likewise were used for sleeping purposes.[140] Both these pieces of furniture figure in the contemporary sculptures and paintings at Bādāmi. I-tsing, who came to India in the beginning of the eighth century, mentions a cane-chair and describes it as follows:[141] ' The chair is about seven inches high and a foot square, and the seat of it is wicker-work made of rattan cane. The legs are rounded and on the whole the chair is not heavy.' Although we do not possess a sculptural representation of this chair at Bādāmi, it may have been used in the Karṇāṭaka region which abounds in bamboo and cane forests. There was of course no comparison between these pieces of furniture and the emperor's throne. Hiuen Tsang who must have seen it at several courts says:[142] ' The sovereign's dais is exceedingly wide and high and

it is dotted with small pearls. What is called the 'Lion's Seat ' (that is, the actual throne) is covered with fine cloth, and is mounted by a jewelled footstool.'[143] There is a fresco at Bādāmi showing a queen seated on a jewelled seat.

The people were exceedingly well-clothed, using as they did silk, muslin, calico, linen and fine wool.[144] Hiuen Tsang remarks that 'the dresses of the kings and grandees were very extraordinary.[145] His other remark that ' the inner clothing and outward attire of the people have no tailoring'[146] evidently refers to the dhotis and uttariyas of men and skirts worn by women, and need not be taken to mean that the people of India were ignorant of sartorial art. For a dvārapāla outside a temple at Aihole is wearing a sort of sleeved-shirt, which must have been stitched.[147] From the earliest times, men's attire consisted besides dhoti of dupaṭṭā and turban.[148] In the Kaumudīmahotsava, the minister Mantragupta is shown wearing turban.[149] The sculptures at Bādāmi show that a ' kamarabandha ' or a waist-band either jewelled, laced or plain was worn round the waist, and it was with this that their 'dhoti' was held.[150] I-tsing also seems to refer to this time-honoured

apparel-dhoti-when he states that people of India[151] in general including the officers and people of higher classes wore a pair of soft white cloth as garment, while the humbler classes wore only a single piece of linen. The length of the dhotis was generally eight feet.[152]

The upper garment, the lower garment and a sort of corset appears to have formed the dress of the ladies. The uttariya, which covered the upper part of the body,is mentioned in the Kaumudīmahotsava.[153] As seen in the sculptural representation of this garment on the shoulders of the female flying[154] Gandharvas from Aihole, it was worn like the dupaṭṭā of the present day Punjabi ladies, while the bracket figures in the third cave at Bādāmi are depicted wearing tight corsets.[155] The different modes of wearing the lower garment may be seen in the Māṭrikā figures from Aihole[156] and the female attendant standing by the side of the Ardhanārīśvara in the first cave at Bādāmi.[157] The former are attired in the long piece of cloth after the style known as ' sakaccha nesana ' which is popular among the Mahārāshṭrian women, the pleats being arranged in graceful manners.[158] The female attendant, on the other hand, has wrapped

the garment round the lower portion of her body and the folds are gathered near the proper left side of her waist.[159]

Both men and women lavished special care and skill on their make-up. The custom of having long hair was common to both the sexes. Bāṇa speaks of the top-knots worn by the chiefs at Ujjaini.[160] According to Hiuen Tsang this top knot was formed by the coil of hair on the crown of one's head while the rest of the hair was let loose.[161] There is an amazing variety of coiffure among the members of the fair-sex to be seen in the frescoes and sculptures of the Chālukya temples.[162] A certain style in which hair came down the cheeks and temples is mentioned in the Kaumudīmahotsava.[163] The long hair were at times braided into a plait which was styled ekaveni[164] or were tied into a knot on the nape of the neck as could be seen in the case of the attendant sitting near the queen's feet in the fresco at Bādāmi.[165] The dhammila[166] or the hair tied in a high bun appears to be the loveliest and the most dignified way of hair-dressing, though a bit complicated. The use of flower-garlands and jewelled ornaments to adorn the hair was very

common.[167] The Kaumudīmahotsava even mentions the perfuming of hair with aromatic vapours.[168]

Among the cosmetics we have references to lipstick,[169] face-powder,[170] collerium,[171] perfumes[172] and lac-dye[173] used for painting the feet. The Kaumudīmahotsava speaks of the oshtharuchaka, i.e. ' the pigment for the purpose of making lips look pleasant '[174] and also of the powder applied to the cheeks.[175] The actual mode of painting the lips is known to us through the Kumārasaṁbhava[176] of Kālidāsa. The lac-dye was first applied to lips which were then given a finishing touch with the lodhra dust to lend them a tint of yellow.[177] For fragrance Bāṇa records the use of camphor-powder,[178] sandal,[179] saffron[180] and musk.[181] A perfume box or saugandhika-putikā is mentioned by Vātsyāyana.[182] Boxes of polished coconut shell for storing sandal-powder must have been in common use throughout the Chālukya kingdom, which included the Koṅkaṇa-coast known for its coconut products.[183] The sindura or the red lead powder is mentioned in connection with the decoration of elephants in the Kaumudīmahotsava.[184] But kuṁkum used on the forhead for women is conspicuous by its absence in the Chālukya sculpture and painting. The mirrors were an article of toilet and we have

a beautiful sculptural representation of a lady looking into a circular mirror in the third cave at Bādāmi.[185]

Sanskrit literature contains descriptions of a large variety of ornaments and the contemporary sculpture abounds in their representations.[186] A great variety of designs in the necklaces worn by both men and women is evident in the Chālukya sculpture and painting, the consummate workmanship being a tribute to the skill achieved by the jewellers. A lady probably Trailokyamahādevī, the queen of Vikramāditya II in the Mallikārjuna temple,[187] has around her neck what is mentioned as nishkakaṇṭhi, a necklace of gold coins known as niska in the Rāmāyaṇa[188] and as dināra-malaya or a string of dināṛs in the Jain Kalpasūtra,[189] the difference in the names being accounted for by the different designation of the coins strung on the string. It is of interest to know that this ornament survives in the necklace known as Putalya, worn by the Mahārāshṭrian women of the present day.[190] Another ornament consisted of a string of pearls with a jewelled pendant which was styled mauktika-hāra in the Kaumudīmahotsava.[191] The male and female figures represented as wearing one or two

stringed pearl necklaces with large jewels in the middle adorn the walls of the Durgā temple and at Aihole.[192] An interesting variety of necklace which is a repoussé work is worn by the sculptured couple from the ceiling of a cave at Aihole,[193] while the gods in the caves at Bādāmi are shown with one or more heavy bejewelled gold and pearl necklaces.[194]

The keyura, ananta or nāga valaya made of gold entwine the arms of both men and women, while their wrists are adorned with the bracelets of pearls and gold.[195] A large number of thin bangles are worn by the mātrikās at Aihole,[196] by the chauri-bearers in the fresco from the third cave at Bādāmi and by the lady attendant standing by the female side of the Ardhanārīśvara in the first cave at the latter place.[197] A jewelled udarabandha or belt forms the prominent male ornament in the Chālukya sculpture,[198] while the women adorned their middle with a girdle known as rasanā or katimekhalā in the literature.[199] Mention is made in the Kaumudīmahotsava[200] of a waist-band which was fashionable among the women with tiny jingling bells attached to it.[201] The plain heavy rings known as patrakundala were commonly worn in the ear-lobes and in the Chālukyan sculpture

most of the women are shown wearing this variety.[202] The only other type seen in the ears of sculptured female figures comes from Aihole[203] and Bādāmi[204], and resembles the present day ear-topes. These have a lotus design on the front side and are worn by at least two of the mātṛikā figures from Aihole,[205] and also by some of the ladies in the bracket figures from the third cave at Bādāmi.[206] As is evident from the sculptural evidence at Bādāmi, Aihole and Pattadakal the ear-rings of two different designs were sometimes worn in the two ears.[207] Chatulatilaka mentioned in the Harshacharita[208] and varieties of which could be seen in the sculptures and paintings of this period was a head-ornament suspended by a golden chain near the simanta or the parting of the hair.[209] The anklets, plain, worsted and jewelled[be] were worn by ladies and are mentioned in the Kaumudimahotsava.[210] The nose-rings, however, are not to be found in the sculptures and paintings of the period. There are the muktā-yajñopavita or the sacred thread composed of pearls in the Chālukyan carvings[211] while in the statue from Aihole, now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Vishṇu is seen wearing ajina-yajñopavita composed of deer skin,[212] which is described in the Raghuvaṁśa in connection with the yājñika dress

of Dasaratha.

According to Hiuen Tsang [213] milk, ghee, granulated sugar, sugar candy, cakes and parched grain with mustered seed oil were the common food of the people. It may be noted in this connection that millet is mentioned in the epigraph of Lokamahādevī [214] and rice in the Kaumudīmahotsava. [215] Apart from these, vegetables must also have formed a part of the food. The guilds of oil-pressers or teligas appear in the Chālukya records. [216] The people also partook of meat, and mutton, fish and venison are mentioned among occasional dainties by the Chinese pilgrim. [217] According to the same authority the flesh of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, wolves, lions, monkeys and apes was eaten only by the out castes. [218] Curds and butter-milk must have been also used and a churning rod with an earthern pot in which butter-milk must have been prepared is actually shown in a sculpture in cave No.2 at Bādāmi. [219] The kitchen utensils consisted mostly of earthernware, only a few being of brass. Bāṇa mentions fire-trays, ovens, simmering pans, spitoons, copper-saucepens and frying pans, to which may be [220] added the plain water-pots seen in the bas-reliefs

of Bādāmi.[221] Hiuen Tsang gives details of even the manner of taking food. ' The people in India generally ate from one vessel,' he says, ' in which the ingredients are mixed up,'[222] and took their food with fingers, though copper spoons were used in cases of sickness.[223]

The extensive use of tooth-sticks is proved by the accounts of both the Chinese pilgrims[224] and also by the Brihatsamhitā[225], which contain references to the sticks made from different kinds of trees. Hiuen Tsang says ' as soon as a meal is over they chew the tooth-stick and make themselves clean.'[226] The practice of rinsing the mouth or gargling, and also of chewing the betel-leaves to remove the bad odour from the mouth, are mentioned by Bāṇa.[227] A snāniya-churna[228] mentioned in the Kaumudīmahotsava must have represented the present day soap-powder. Hiuen Tsang seems to have been impressed by the high standard of cleanliness maintained by the people of India when he remarks that ' they are pure of themselves and not from compulsion.'[229]

Alcoholic drinks were not tabooo during our period. In admiration and praise of liquor Daṅḍin says:[230] ' This fortifies the charm of youth through

the steady use of spirituous antidotes to numerous diseases.'[231] Hiuen Tsang saw spirituous liquors of various kinds current during the period.[232] He writes, ' there are distinctions in the use of their wines and other beverages. The wines from the vine and the sugar-cane are drink of the Kshatriyas; the Vaiśyas drink a strong distilled spirit; the Buddhist monks and the Brāhmiṇs drink syrup of grapes and of sugar cane; the low mixed castes are without any distinguishing drink.' An extract of coconut called Nārikelāsava[233] mentioned in the Raghuvaṁśa may have been a speciality of the Konkaṇ country which abounds in coconut trees. Wine-bibing was common to society women and is mentioned in the Harshacharita of Bāṇa[234] in connection with queens, and he refers in his Kādambari to wine-flushed cheeks of Malabāri women in the Viṁdhya forests.[235] There is also a mention of pānabhūmi or the drinking place near the apartments of women in a palace and Bāṇa employs the term[236] chasaka for the cup used on the occasion,[237] a term which was used earlier by Kālidāsa.[238] In the Pāpanātha temple at Paṭṭadakal there are sculptures of men offering wine-cups to their female companions.[239] A finely shaped goblet is held in his hand by one of the flying Gandharvas from Aihole.[240] Hiuen Tsang draws

pointed attention to the practice of drinking wine before a military engagement in the Chalukya army.[241]

The rules of etiquette were elaborate. Hiuen Tsang mentions no fewer than nine modes of salutation in vogue:[242] greeting with a kind of inquiry, reverently bowing the head, raising the hands to the head with an inclination of the body, bowing with the hands folded on the breast, bending a knee, kneeling with both knees, going down with knees, elbows and forehead to the ground and prostrating oneself on the earth. The Kaumudīmahotsava describes a scene in which Virasena, an officer from the army is squatting on the ground before the elderly chief-minister Mantragupta, who is seated on a cot.[243]

In cases of sickness people first resorted to naturopathy and abstained from meals sometimes for seven days.[244] It was only on the failure of this treatment that a physician was called in. Referring to the physicians and their lore Hiuen Tsang says that,[245] 'their medicines are of various kinds, each kind having a specific name, (and) their doctors differ in medical skill and in prognostication.'

There were three recognized customs of

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disposing of the dead; the first of which was cremation, a pyre being made on which the body was consumed; the second was water burial, the corpse being put into a stream to float and dissolve, and the third mode which consisted of leaving the corpse to feed wild animals. The family in which death occured was considered unclean and no one could dine with them until the funeral was over and things were
247
as before. Those who attended the funeral were also considered unclean and had to bathe outside the city
248
walls before entering (the city). The offering of pinda by the sons to the manes of their parents was regarded as a sacred duty.

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(3) Ibid., p. 151.

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(5) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, Introduction.

(6) ASMAR, 1939, pp. 129 - 137.

(7) Ramesan, ' The Mārutūru Grant of Pulakeśin II,' APGAS, No.6, pp. 11-39.

(8) Supra, n.1.

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(9) Deva Krishna, ' Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa,' EI, vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 - 22.

(10) Supra, n. 1.

(11) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, p. 140.

(12) Yājñavalkya, op. cit., III, 414.

(13) Infra, ns. 23, 33, 34, 35 and 36.

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(16) Panchamukhi, An Outline of Karnataka Sculpture, Plate: IV.;

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(18) Ibid.

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(31) Moraes, op. cit., 15-17.

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(33) Bhandarkar D.R., ' Jejurī Plates of Vinayāditya,' EI, vol. XIX, pp. 289-91.

(34) Gai, ' Māyalūr Plates of Chālukya Vijayāditya,' EI, vol. XXXIII, pp. 200 ff.

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(42) M'Crindle, op. cit., p. 161.

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(45) Ibid.

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(50) Fleet, 'Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. X, pp. 164 -165.;166-67.

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(53) Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, pp. 27-28.

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(81) Ibid.

(82) Varāhamihira, op. cit., Ch. LIII, 4-13, 70 and 91.;
Ch. LXII, 4.

(83) Kauṭilya, op. cit., Bk. II, Ch.IV.

(84) Varāhamihira, op. cit., Ch. LIII, v. 84.

(85) Watters, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 239-40.

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(86) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, p.11.

(87) Ibid.

(88) From personal observation.

(89) From personal observation.

(90) Vātsyāyana, Kāmasūtra, I, 3 , 12.

(91) Ibid., 16.

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(92) Vijjakā, op. cit., Introduction, p. 3.

(93) Bāṇa, Kādambarī, 270.

(94) Sivaramamurti, ' Western Chālukya Paintings at Bādāmi,'
LK, vol. V, pp. 49 - 58.

(95) Supra, n. 7.

(96) Ibid.

(97) Watters, op. cit., vol.I, p. 168.

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(98) Vātsyāyana, op. cit., I, 5, 1-3.

(99) Altekar, ' The position of Women in Hindu Civilization,' pp. 72 -73.

(100) Virji, op. cit., p. 75.

(101) Supra, ns. 7 and 31.

(102) Bāṇa, Harshacharita, I.

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(103) Vijjakā, op. cit., pp. 59 ff.(Text); pp. 103 ff.(Trans.).

(104) Altekar, op. et loc. cit., pp. 35 -46.

(105) Ibid.

(106) Ibid.

(107) Ibid.

(108) Supra, p. 297.

(109) From personal observation.

Page : 450.

(110) Ibid.,

Kālidāsa, Raghuvaṁśa, VII, vv. 20, 28 and 30.

(111) Ibid.

(112) Bāṇa, Harshacharita, pp. 124 -131.

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(113) Supra, n. 37.

(114) Supra, n. 7.

(115) Supra, n. 37.

(116) Panchamukhi, KI, vol.I, pp. 2 ff.

(117) Bāṇa, op. et loc. cit., pp. 247 -248.

(118) Vijjakā, op. cit., p. 96 (Trans.).

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(119) Supra, n. 52.

(120) Supra, n. 49.

(121) Supra, n. 38.

(122) Baudhāyana, Baudhāyanadharmasūtra, I, 5, 112 -115.

(123) Āpastamba, Āpastambadharmasūtra, II, 14, 2-4.

(124) Manu, op. cit., IX, 185.; X, 185 and 187.; Altekar, op. cit., pp. 250 - 262.

(125) Kauṭilya, op. cit., Bk. III, Ch.V.

(126) Kane, op. cit., p. 702.

(127) Yājñavalkya, op. cit., II, 134. 135 and 136.
(128) Nārada, op. cit., XIII, 52.
(129) Kātyāyana, op. cit., 926.

(130) Altekar, op. cit., pp. 250 - 262.

(131) Supra, ns. 38, 49 and 52.

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(132) Vijjakā, op. cit., pp. 104 ff.(Trans.).

(133) Ibid., p. 106.

(134) Vātsyāyana, op. cit., p. 98.

(135) Vijjakā, op. cit., p. 105 (Trans.).

(136) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 147-148.

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(137) Ibid.

(138) Ibid.

(139) Ibid.; From personal observation.

(140) Ibid.

(141) Takakusu, op. cit., p.22.

(142) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 147-48.

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(143) Supra, n. 94.

(144) Watters, op. cit., p. 148.

(145) Ibid.

(146) Ibid.

(147) L'Inde, Plate: 25.

(148) Vijjakā, op. cit., p. 96 (Trans.).

Motichandra, 'The History of Indian Costume from the 3rd to the end of the 7th century,' JISOA, vol. XII, pp. 21 and 44.

(149) Ibid.

(150) Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, Vo. II, Plates : 125, 127 and 140.

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(151) Takakusu, op. cit., pp. 67 - 68.

(152) Ibid.

(153) Vijjakā, op. cit., p. 34 (Text).

(154) L'Inde, Plates: 10-11.

(155) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates: 128 and 130.

(156) Ibid, Plate : 123.

(157) Ibid., Plate : 139.

(158) Supra, n. 156.

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(159) Supra, n. 157.

(160) Bāṇa, Kādambarī, p. 174.

(161) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, p. 148.

(162) Plate : V.

(163) Vijjakā, op. cit., 120 (Trans.).

(164) Sivaramamurti, Sanskrit Literature and Art - Mirrors of Indian culture. (MASI, No. 73), p. 32.

(165) Supra, n. 94.

(166) Plate : V, fig. 7.

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(167) Plate : V.

(168) Vijjakā, op. cit., p. 97. (Trans.).

(169) Ibid., p. 77. (Trans.); p. 25.(Text).

(170) Ibid., p. 97.(Trans.).

(171) Bāṇa, Harshacharita, p. 72.;
Kālidāsa, Mālavikāgnimitra, III, v. 5.

(172) Kālidāsa, Raghuvaṁśa, XVII, v. 25.

(173) Ibid.,;
Supra, n. 171.

(174) Supra, n. 169.

(175) Supra, n. 170.

(176) Kālidāsa, Kumārasaṁbhava, VII, v. 9.

(177) Ibid..

(178) Bāṇa, Kādambarī, pp. 14 and 127.

(179) Ibid.

(180) Ibid.

(181) Ibid.

(182) Vātsyāyana, op. cit., 1, 4, 8-16.

(183) Supra, pp. 131 - 132.

(184) Vijjakā, op. cit., p. 40 (Text); p.89(Trans.).

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(185) From personal observation.

(186) Supra, n. 51.;
Plates : III - IV.

(187) L'Inde. Plates : 39-40.

(188) Rāmāyaṇa, VI, 5. v. 25.

(189) Sivaramamurti, op. et loc. cit., p. 58.

(190) Ibid.

(191) Vijjakā, op. cit., p.17.(Text).

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(192) L'Inde, Plates: 5 and 6.

(193) Ibid., Plates: 16 and 17.

(194) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates: 125, 127, 138, 139 and 140.

(195) Ibid., Plates: 131, 135 and 139.

(196) Ibid., Plate: 123.

(197) Supra, n. 94.

(198) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate: 139.

(199) Plate: IV, fig.6.

(200) Sivaramamurti, op. et loc. cit., p.61.

(201) Vijjakā, op. cit., p.50 (Text); p.97(Trans.).

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(202) L'Inde, Plates: 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8.

(203) Ibid., Plates : 14 and 15.

(204) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates: 128-129.

(205) Supra, n. 203.

(206) Supra, n. 204.

(207) L'Inde, Plates: 4, 7-11 and 13.

(208) Bāṇa, Harshacharita, p. 32.

(209) From personal observation.

(210) Supra, n. 201.

(211) L'Inde, Plates : 20 and 21.

(212) From personal observation.

Kālidāsa, Raghuvaṁśa, IX, v. 21.

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(213) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, p. 178.

(214) Fleet, 'Inscription of Vikramāditya in the Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭadakal,' IA, vol. X, p. 167.

(215) Vijjakā, op. cit., p. 71.(Trans.).

(216) Supra, ns. 49, 50 and 52.

(217) Supra, n. 213.

(218) Ibid.

(219) From personal observation.

(220) Bāṇa, Harshacharita, p. 208.

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(221) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, p. 178.

(222) Ibid.

(223) Ibid.

(224) Ibid., p. 152.;

Takakusu, op. cit., VIII.

(225) Varāhamihira, op. cit., Ch. LXXXV, 1- 7.; Ch. LXXVII, 1-37.

(226) Watters, op. cit., vol. I, p. 152.

(227) Bāṇa, Kādambarī, pp. 14 and 127.

(228) Vijjakā, op. cit., p. 50.(Text).

(229) Watters, op. cit., vol.I, p. 152.

(230) Daṅḍin, Daśakumāracharita. p. 210.

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(231) Supra, n. 221.

(232) Ibid.

(233) Kālidās, Raghuvaṁśa, IV, v. 42.

(234) Bāṇa, Harshacharita, pp. 77, 82-83 and 104.

(235) Bāṇa, Kādambarī, p. 16.

(236) Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 28.;
Kālidāsa, Raghuvaṁśa, VII, v. 49.

(237) Bāṇa, Harshacharita, p. 195.

(238) Kālidāsa, op. et loc. cit., VII, v. 49.

(239) L'Inde, Plates: 45 and 46.

(240) Ibid, Plates: 10 and 11.

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(241) Watters, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 239-40.

(242) Ibid., vol. I, p. 173.

(243) Vijjakā, op. cit., p. 99 (Trans.).

(244) Watters, op. cit., vol.I, pp. 174-75.

(245) Ibid.

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(246) Ibid.

(247) Ibid.

(248) Ibid.

(249) Daṅḍin, Daśakumāracharita. 26, p. 164.

CHAPTER III

RELIGION and ART.

Thanks to the catholicity of religious outlook of the rulers of the Bādāmi-house, the different religious sects flourished side by side in the Chālukya empire.[1] Under the Chālukyas the Deccan was spared the blot which disgraces the history of North India under Śaśāṅka[2] and that of the South under Nandivarman Pallavamalla[3] and the Pāṇḍya king Arikesari Māṟavarman[4] all of whom are notorious for the persecution of the followers of non-Brāhmanical cults. Again, Vaishṇavism and Śaivism do not seem to be the two distinct rival creeds as we know them today, and in point of fact the spirit of compromise between the two during the period of our study is probably best illustrated by the concept of Harihara the combination of Vishṇu (Hari) and Śiva (Hara), whose images are found in the caves at Bādāmi.[5] Similarly, the installation of the images of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva in a temple at Bādāmi by Rājamātā Vinayavati in A. D. 697, is an evidence of the spirit of toleration.[6] In the Chālukya epigraphs,

the Saptamātṛikās and Swami Mahāsena (Kārttikeya), the deities of the Śaivaite group are mentioned simultaneously with Vishṇu the deity of the royal family.[7] Lastly, the outer wall of the temple of Pāpanātha, dedicated to God Śiva and built during this period, has inscribed sculptural representations of certain episodes from the life of Rāma, an incarnation of Vishṇu.[8]

True, Pulakeśin I, in his Bādāmi cliff inscription[9] proudly claims to have performed the Aśvamedha and other sacrifices in accordance with the Śāstric injunctions (Śrauta-vidhānataḥ). The same strain is also echoed in the Bādāmi cave inscription of Kīrtivarman I[10] and the Mahākūta record of Maṅgaleśa[11] which credit the rulers of the royal family with the performance of the Agniṣṭoma, Agnichayana, Vājapeya, Paunḍarika and Bahusuvarṇa sacrifices. Again, the donee of the Godachi grant of Kīrtivarman is described as sa-dvātithi meaning ' he who possessed or maintained two fires,' i.e. the Śrauta-agni and the Smārta-agni which every householder is expected to maintain according to the injunctions of Vedic ritualism.[12] Moreover, the Brāhmaṇas continued the

study of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, a fact which is amply revealed by the Chālukya inscriptions[13] which contain several references to the special branch of Vedic studies pursued by their Brāhmaṇa donees. This evidence is further corroborated by the observations of Hiuen Tsang who records that ' the brahmins learn the four vedic treaties,' though his description of the four vedas is not accurate. For, he mentions Āyura-veda as one of the four Vedas and completely omits the Ṛigveda.[14]

The foregoing details no doubt indicate the prevalence of the Vedic religion; but as would presently be seen, the gradual swing towards the worship of Vishṇu and Śiva in their various forms as principal figures in the two theistic systems appears to have gathered momentum under the Chālukyas. The aforementioned Bādāmi cave inscription of Kīrtivarman I which refers to the performance of the Vedic sacrifices itself records an installation of the image of Vishṇu,[15] while the Mahākūṭa record[16] similarly avows the worship of the Mahākūṭeśvara, a form of Śiva.

The most characteristic feature of the

religious life of the period is the veneration of the images, and the ceremonies connected with Vishnu, Śiva and other gods which takes the place of the aniconic worship of the Āryans, thereby introducing a distinct shift from the abstract to the concrete. A part of the donations registered in the Ajaneri plates of Bhogaśakti[17], was made for the purpose of providing ' perfume, flowers, incense, light, bathing and anointing of the god as well as ' for symphonic entertainment combined with dancing, singing and music' (परमात्मने भगवते नारायणाय गन्धपुष्प धूपदीप सम्मार्ज्जनो (सम्मार्ज्जनो) - पलेपक्रियार्थं। नृतगीत वाद्योपेत संगीतकार्त्थम्।) Similarly, the object of the Manor grant of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa was to register the donation of some villages and domestic sites with a view to ensure the supply of perfumes, flowers, incense, lamps, music and offerings to the temple of the Sun god at Mānapura (गंधपुष्प धूपदीप संगीतकबल्यो (बल्यु) पहारार्त्थम्[18]). Further, an inscription at Pattadakal[19] mentions the musicians (gandharvar) of the temple and records that the privileges which the latter had received from Vijayāditya were confirmed by Lokamahādevī, the queen of Vikramāditya II. The brief Kanarese inscription of Maṅgaleśa

outside the third cave at Bādāmi,[20] appears to make some provision for the garlandmakers of the god Vishṇu.[21] Yet another record, again from Paṭṭadakal, refers to a decisive victory attained by the dancers of the school of Bharata against the follower of the rival school or schools referred to as 'para-naṭa.'

The Varāhalañchhana or the Boar crest of the Chālukyas indicates that Vishṇu in his Boar incarnation was their family god. Almost all the Chālukya epigraphs in their preamble carry the following invocation to Vishṇu in his Boar form:[22]

> 'Victorious is the body which was that of a boar that was manifested of Vishṇu, which agitated the ocean and which had the Earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right tusk.'

In the cave at Bādāmi, numbered second, the Chālukya sculptors have provided a sculptural representation of this invocation.[23] The god -- with the snout of a boar and the body of a man -- stands in the position of an archer technically known in Sanskrit as pratyālidha. He has four hands, the upper right holding the earth goddess who is standing leaning towards the snout.[24] The third cave at

Bādāmi is also dedicated to Vishṇu, and an epigraph of Kīrtivarman I on a pilaster in this cave says that the image of this god was installed in it during his reign.[25] The appellation paramabhāgavata assumed by Maṅgaleśa and other rulers of the dynasty would further indicate their devotion to lord Vishṇu.[26] And finally, there are at Bādāmi[27] and Paṭṭadakal[28] -- besides the bas-reliefs of Narasiṁha, Vāmana and the Boar incarnation -- various incidents from the lives of Kṛishṇa and Rāma carved in relief which are a clear evidence that the people at this time were well acquainted with the Vaishṇava pantheon.

Although Vaishṇavism thus commended itself to the ruling family, it did not lead to any waning in the polularity of Śaivism.

Temples were dedicated to Śiva by Vijayāditya,[29] Vikramāditya[30] and his two queens at Paṭṭadakal, while Vikramāditya I[31] did not deign to flaunt the title of Paramamāheśvara. The linga which represented the lord Śiva was the object of worship in these temples, on the walls of which are carved the various incidents from the life of Śiva.[32] The first cave at Bādāmi, also a Śaivite

monument of this period, houses the images of Śiva as Naṭarāja, Pārvati and Nandi along with Śiva on the mount Kailāsa, the marriage of Pārvati with Lord Śiva and the syncretic sculptures of the Harihara and the Ardhanārīśvara.[33]

Popular Śaivite cults also seem to have flourished during the period. There are images of Lakuliśa -- the twenty eighth incarnation of Śiva and founder of the Pāśupata form of Śaivism -- on the walls of the contemporary temples at Paṭṭadakal[34] and Bādāmi[35], while references are not lacking to the prevalence of Kāpālika sect. A village was donated near Igatpuri (Nasik district) for the worship of the god Kāpāleśvara, ' the lord of the wearers of garlands of skulls ' and for the maintenance of the mahāvratins residing in the temple there.[36]

The worship of Durgā, the consort of Śiva, was equally wide-spread. Images of the goddess as mahishāsuramardinī are found among other places at Bādāmi[37] and Aihole.[38] In the Kaumudīmahotsava she is invoked as the Vindhyavāsinidevī,[39] while the Gaudavaho of Vākpati

graphically describes the ritualism connected with her worship. Thus, for instance, we know that human sacrifices were offered to the goddess, and the flesh of human beings was exposed at night about her temple for sale to those who wished to offer it to her. Some of the devotees shaved their heads and offered the hair to the goddess.[40]

Nor were the Jainas denied a due share of the royal patronage which they had received under the earlier rulers such as the Kadambas. Numerous grants issued by the members of the Kadamba family from the city of Palāśikā, the present Halsi, register donations in favour of the followers of Jainism.[41] A charter of Ravivarman[42] who ruled during the last quarter of the fifth century is important for its revelation of the royal faith in this religion and for the inculcation of its practice upon all his countrymen and citizens. It declares:

> ' The lord Ravi established the ordinance at the mighty city of Palāśikā that the glory of Jinendra (the festival of) which lasts for eight days, should be celebrated regularly every year on the full-moon of (the month) Kārttika from the revenues of that (village)...

> ..... and that the worship of Jinendra should be perpetually performed by the pious countrymen and citizens. Wheresoever the worship of Jinendra is kept up there is increase of the country, and the cities are free from fear and the lords of those countries acquire strength. Reverence ! Reverence ! ' [43]

Jainism thus appears to have been a popular religion followed by a considerable section of society in the Kadamba kingdom.

The Chālukyas who succeeded the Kadambas followed in the latter's footsteps in endowing Jaina temples and institutions. A lithic record from Laxmeśvara which, as it is inscribed in the characters of the later period is considered copy of the original inscription issued under the orders of Chālukya Vijayāditya, registers an endowment in favour of a certain Jaina priest Udayadevapaṇḍita.[44] This latter was the preceptor of Vijayāditya's father Vinayāditya and is described as a house-pupil of Pujyapāda.[45] Another inscription of Vijayāditya, the Shiggāon plates,[46] also record donations in favour of a Jaina monastery with the construction of which his sister Kuṁkuṁ-mahādevī was connected. Vikramāditya II repaired a Jaina temple known as ' white Jainālaya '[47]

at the request of ' the merchant Bāhubali.' He also gave a grant to ' Śrī Vijayadeva Paṇḍitāchārya[48] who belonged to the sect of the Devagaṇa of Mūla-saṅgha, the disciple of Rāmadevāchārya who performed the most austere penances, and who was the house-pupil of Jayadeva Paṇḍita.'[49] The Āḍūr inscription of Kīrtivarman II registers a donation in favour of a Jainālaya ' for the purpose of providing the oblation, the unbroken rice, perfumes and flowers,' indicating items needed for the worship in the Jaina temples.

Private individuals also built Jainālayas. Thus we have the instance of Ravikīrti, the author of the Aihole praśasti and probably the poet laureate at Pulakeśin II's court, erecting a stone temple of Jinendra ' at Aihole.[50] In like manner Kaliyamma, the the village headman of Jebulageri, built a Jaina chediya at Annigere in the sixth regnal year of Kīrtivarman II.[51]

The same tolerant policy in matters religious enabled Buddhism to retain its hold in the Deccan. According to Hiuen Tsang's account there were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and the Brethren, who were adherents of both vehicles were more than 5000

in number.[52] Women who were also admitted to the Buddhist order must have had their own establishments. One of the dramatis personae of the Kaumudīmahotsava is a Buddhist nun Yogasiddhi, tutor of the heroine Kīrtimatī.[53]

In the city of Nāsik, which the pilgrim mistook for the Chālukya capital, there were five Aśoka stūpas, and innumerable others of stone and brick.[54] Towards the end of this account of Mahārāshṭra, the pilgrim gives what would appear to be a description of caves at Ajantā which, if true would be the first eye-witness account of the caves.[55] He says:[56]

> ' In the east of this country (Mahārāshṭra) was a mountain range, ridges one above another in succession, tiers of peaks and sheer summits. Here was a monastery the base of which was in a dark defile, and its lofty halls and deep chambers were querried in the cliff at their back and faced the ravine. This monastery had been built by A-che-lo (Āchāra) of west India ..... within the establishment was a large temple about 100 feet high in which was a stone image of the Buddha more than seventy feet in height; the image was surrounded by a tier of seven canopies unattached and unsupported, each canopy supported from the one above it by a space of three feet. The walls of the temple had depicted on them the

> incidents of Buddha's career as Bodhisattva, including the circumstances of his attaining bodhi and the omens attending his final passing away, all great and small, were here delineated. Outside the gate of the monastery, on either side north and south, was a stone elephant ..... The Pusa Chen-na or Dinnāga often stayed in this monastery.'

Kanheri, near Bombay, was surely another important centre of Buddhism in the Chālukya empire. The large number of inscriptions at the place testify to its continuous occupation by the Buddhists from the early centuries of the Christian era upto the Medieaval period.[57]

Ajantā and Kanheri were evidently centres of Buddhist learning as well. An inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha (A. D. 814 - 880)[58] registers the donation made for the purchase of books for a vihāra at the latter place.

There were Buddhist establishments at the Chālukya capital itself. A badly mutilated image of the Bodhisatva Padmapāṇi is found in the natural cavern near the second cave at Bādāmi, which might have been carved during the Chālukya period.[59] The access to yet another image of the Bodhisatva

Padmapāṇi at the same place is rendered difficult on account of the large boulders in front of it.[60] Finally, one of the rulers of the Bādāmi house, as we have already seen, endowed a Buddhist monastery near Bodhigayā.[61]

Art in ancient India was the handmaid of religion and served to concretize concepts of the divine personages holding sway over man's minds during those ages of faith. Architecture had necessarily to be functional and the varying needs of the different sects resulted in giving different forms to the edifices that came into being. It was characteristic of the period that architecture came into the open and the structural temples rose alongside the older cave architecture. Sculpture made further progress, assimilating and synthesizing the features of the eastern and western schools of the Sātavāhana statuary. Painting reached its ne plus ultra, the ultimate logical development of the earlier Ajantā idiom.

The Chālukyan artists could not but be influenced by the achievements of their predecessors no less than the contemporary trends in art in other parts of Indian subcontinent. It is therefore

no wonder that the artistic creations of our period resemble, albeit in parts, the earlier and contemporary northern as well as the southern monuments.

A study of the architectural and sculptural remains at Bādāmi, Paṭṭadakal and Aihoḷe, the three Chālukya sites of unquestioned authority indicate that this was a period of experimentation. The Chālukya architects following a method of trial and error gradually arrived at a norm for a temple which they carried to perfection before the end of the period. In like manner experimenting with a variety of styles in the modelling of the human figure the Chālukya artists produced sculptures represented in the third cave at Bādāmi by the images of Trivikrama, Harihara, Varāha, Narasiṁha and Vishṇu sitting on Anaṅta.[62] These images are all remarkable for the primitive vigour which they exhuberate on account of their bold chiselling. These examples of early Chālukya efforts stand in a sharp contrast to the delicately executed bracket figures spreading an aroma of sweetness and content around themselves in the same cave at Bādāmi.[63] The presence of these figures is accounted for by the fact that they were stylistic importation from the eastern parts of the Sātavāhana

empire reminiscent of such centres of art as Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikonḍa.

These sculptures as indeed the free-standing buildings represent a phase of hesitancy and vacillation before the Chālukya artists could find a fully co-ordinated expression, at once original and convincing.

Save for the cyclopean walls which probably surrounded the ancient village of Aihole,[64] we have no examples of civil, domestic or military architecture left to us from the Chālukyan times.[65] The scarcity of remains of secular architecture may probably be explained by a reference to a statement from the Brihatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira, ascribed to the fifth century of the Christian era, where in his chapter ' On House-building ' the author states that the wall of the house ' may be built of burnt bricks or wood.'[66] Naturally enough, the edifices built of such materials of impermanent nature could hardly out last the rigours of a tropical climate. The only samples of their architecture that have survived the ravages of time and weather are those made of stronger material such as the caves scooped out of rocks and temples built in stone.

Hitherto rock-cut architecture had been developed almost entirely under Buddhist auspices. During the Chālukya period the Brāhmanical Hindus - Śaivites and Vaishṇavites - borrowed this mode of construction to serve their needs. Thus it was that alongside the Buddhist caves at Ajantā, Ellorā and Aurangābād, temples were carved out of the living rock at Bādāmi and Aihole.[67]

The date of the entire group of caves at Bādāmi is determined by Kīrtivarman I's inscription of Śaka 500, i.e. A. D. 578, on a pillar in the verandah of the cave No.III.[68] The inscription is important not only from the point of view of date but also because it contains a precise statement giving a vivid picture of the cave-temple itself. It clearly states that the rock-cut sanctuary was dedicated to Vishṇu.[69] Kīrtivarman I entrusted his younger brother Maṅgaleśa who is described as a bhagavata or ' the worshipper of Vishṇu ' in the epigraph, with the supervision of its construction.[70] The epigraph describes the sanctuary as ' an abode of the great Vishṇu, surpassing everything which is celestial or human, fashioned with most curious workmanship, most worthy to be looked at on the

surface of any primary or secondary division of the earth' (लयनो (नं) महाविष्णु गृहमतिदैवंमानुष्यकम-
.त्यद्भुत कर्म्म विरचित (नं) भूमि भागोप भागोपरिपर्य्यन्ता-
तिशय दर्शनीयतमम्[71]). The group consists of three Brāhmanical caves which are closely related in style and it seems possible that they were excavated within a relatively short space of time, i.e. in the sixth century of the Christian era.[72] The fourth one at the same place belonging to the Jainas, however, according to Percy Brown, was added in the seventh century.[73] Each of the shrines was probably provided with an open fore-court which led in succession to the pillared verandah, the columned mandapa and finally to the small sanctum sanctorum[74] cut deep into the rock at the far end of the cave.

The exteriors of these caves present an unassuming and austere appearance relieved only by the pillars forming the verandah and the horizontal panels containing frolicking ganas at the stylobate.[75] The interiors studded with sculptures, symbolical and mystical, some of them being of huge dimensions, about ten to eleven feet high,[76] stand in a sharp contrast to the plain and serviceable outer sides.

The large sculptural compositions carved in high relief and set within a box-like space hollowed out in the either walls of the caves filled as well as beautified the surface which otherwise would have remained a bare wall. This device of setting scenes into box-like recesses gave a depth and perspective to the sculpture within, and in the play of light and shade the entire composition seemed to come to life. Coming from the bright sunlight, a visitor on his approach to the comparative darker inside of the sanctuary was confronted with the bewitching sculptures, with the result that he could scarcely escape the feelings of awe, majesty and power which generally overcome an individual in the presence of the Supreme.[77]

A pillar is the most important element in the composition of a rock-cut shrine and on its design and placing depends much of the architectural effect. Most of the shafts of pillars at Bādāmi are square,[78] the many sided ones forming the inner colonnade in the third cave being the only exceptions.[79] Some of the pillars are crowned with what is known as ribbed, cushioned or āmalaka capital,[80] while some are adorned with the bracket capitals.[81] The

combination of the two, however, is not unknown to Bādāmi. The square shafts surmounted by the cushioned capital in the first cave at Bādāmi[82] compare well with the similar pillars in the second and the Dumar Lena cave at Ellorā[83] and in the rock-cut temple of Elephanta,[84] assigned respectively to the sixth,[85] seventh[86] and the eighth century[87] of the Christian era.[88] The ribbed portion at Bādāmi, the second Ellorā cave and Elephanta,[90] however, is narrower and full of grace in comparison with the broad and bulging ones of the Dumar Lena.[91] But the neat and elaborate treatment of the entablatures, crossbeams and the ceiling[92] is the glory of Bādāmi alone and it is in this respect that cave architecture at Bādāmi can be said to be a distinct advance over what has been achieved in the latter two places. The monotony of the square column was effectively relieved by intricate carving and circular medallions.[93]

The designing of the Bādāmi caves, however, shows some amount of uncertainty and indecision.[94] The pillared mandapa ends so abruptly that the sanctuary gets an appearance of being truncated, further cutting being stopped for want of precise

and explicit planning at the commencement. Again, columniation is not always symmetrical and reveals. a degree of hesitation in grouping of the pillars which could be seen in the case of the third cave.[94a] The rich carvings, however, conceal these shortcomings which may have been due to inexperience of the Karṇāṭaka artists for the rock-cut medium.

At Ajantā eight saṅghārāmas i.e. 1 to 5, 24, 27 and 28 are said to have been carved out during the period of our study,[95] of which nos. 4 and 24 were never completed. The first and second caves follow the size and design of the earlier Vākāṭaka examples represented by the sixteenth and seventeenth caves and are considered the best on account of the high standard of carvings and paintings that adorn them.[96] The rock-cut medium at Ajantā was very old the earliest Hinayāna series of caves being assignable to the second century B. C.[97] This long familiarity with cave-architecture naturally developed confidence amongst the builders. Further progress was achieved in this type during the fourth, fifth and the sixth centuries in the carving of the Mahāyāna sanctuaries,[98] with the result that the architect of the seventh century at Ajantā could use his skill in altogether

novel fashion in the production of the pillars and facades of an amazing variety. The facade of the first cave is one of the most elaborate and beautiful of its class, the richly carved pillars and sculptured friezes of the archi trave adding an effect at once noble and magnificent. The six columns which support this facade are of three
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different designs. In the first variety the square base is surmounted by another square block on which rises the fluted shaft. Above the shaft is the āmalaka capital which supports a square abacus. The entablature is broad and roughly divided into three parts, the rectangle in the centre and the two sides which curve circularly towards the roof. The second variety of which the base has recently been reinforced by the Department of Archaeology has a circular shaft decorated with garland design, while the capital is supported by the dwarfs. And lastly, the third variety has an octagonal shaft rising on a square base, while the square block resting on the shaft takes the place of an āmalaka and square abacus of the first variety, on which rests the triforium entablature common to all the three varieties.

The caves numbered six to twelve at Ellorā

which are assigned to the Chālukya period belong to a later sub-group of the Buddhist excavations carried out between A. D. 450 - 650.[100] Of these the Viśvakarmā cave (No.10) is a Chaitya or a Buddhist prayer hall,[101] while the others are viharas or monastic establishments for the monks. The two caves respectively styled as Do Thal (No. 11) and Tin Thal (No.12) are the most important of the remaining five monasteries. By far the largest of their kind, they are the only examples of three-storied excavations, rising to a height of nearly fifty feet.[102] The severly plain exterior of the Tin Thal is amply compensated by the wealth of sculptures carved within.[103] Its facade shows the uniform pattern in the design of the verandahs of each of the three stories being supported by eight solid undecorated pillars.[104] The interior of each storey, however,[105] is differently treated but for which this huge structure could have easily been a victim of monotonous heaviness.[106] In this Tin Thal monastery Percy Brown finds ' the most precise and mathematically accurate craftsmanship through out the range of rock-architecture. Lines are straighter, angles more correct, and surfaces more true than

in any other examples, indicating that at Ellorā in the seventh century rock-architecture, in its technical aspect, had reached its culmination.[107]

Still more interesting in this Buddhist sub-group is cave No.8 which has a free-standing sanctuary all around,[108] a feature which it shares with the contemporary Brāhmanical cave temples.[109] The contemporary Buddhist cave at Aurangabad[110] similarly houses a detached shrine in the central hall.

Of the sixteen Brāhmanical excavations belonging to the seventh and eighth centuries from Ellorā the most important are the Daś Avatār cave[111] (No. 15), the Rāvaṇa-kā-Khāi (No. 14), Rāmeśvara (No. 21) Dumar Lena (No.29) and the famous Kailāsa (No.16). The last monument, though it was built under the patronage of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa I who flourished from A. D. 756 to 772,[112] owes its grandeur and majesty to the skill of the Chālukya artists, who took work under the Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers after the overthrow of the Chālukya royal house.

Among this group of Brāhmanical caves the two storied Daś Avatār was surely the earliest.[113]

The cella is scooped out at its far end unlike the slightly later Rāvaṇa-kā-Khāi[114] and Rāmeśvara[115] caves which have a free-standing shrine of the deity in the centre, which leaves ample room for the performance of the pradakshiṇā. Of the latter two again, the Rāmeśvara cave is of special interest in that it provides a separate shrine for Nandi, the mount of Śiva.[116] It also contains graceful bracket figures adorning its pillars which are reminiscent of the similar sculptures in the third cave at Bādāmi[117] belonging to the second half of the sixth century.[118]

The Dumar Lena at Ellorā,[119] the Elephanta cave sixteen[120] miles to the east of the Bombay harbour, and the Jogeshwari[121] cave in the Bombay suburb have the same cruciform ground plan and are ascribed to the second half of the eighth century, when the region had already passed from the Chālukyas to the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[122] According to Percy Brown the Dumar Lena was the prototype of the Elephanta, and while Jogeshwari is the worst owing to its crude workmanship[123] Elephanta is considered the best of the three. Moreover, the group differs fundamentally from all other caves in the number and position of the

entrances, one as usual at the front and the others on either side.[124] Percy Brown was inclined to attribute the innovation to the nature of the terrain in which the caves are situated,[125] while S. K. Saraswati was of the opinion that since the same style is found at three different places, the design was premeditated and was independent of the site.[126]

But it is also possible to hold that the architects were inspired by the front gate and two side porches of the contemporary structural temple like the Virūpāksha from Paṭṭadakal,[127] and were prompted to provide rock-cut shrines with similar gateways. It was not unusual to try to reproduce in stone the free-standing structures as was attempted in the famous Kailāsa temple at Ellorā which bears a family likeness to the structural temples of similar design at Paṭṭadakal and Kāñchīpuram.[128] Nor was the cruciform shape of these caves entirely novel. For similar plans could be seen in the design of the sixth cave at Ellorā and in the third storey of the Tin Thal cave also from the same place.[129]

However, the significance of the archi-

-tecture of the Chālukya period lies essentially in its contributions towards the development of a structural temple. The most notable examples of the age come from the Northern Karṇāṭaka[130] and the area around the present district of Karnūl[131] -- a region which incidentally has yielded a large number of the epigraphs belonging to the Bādāmi Chālukyas.[132] The epigraphical evidence shows that temples were constructed in all parts of the Chālukya empire, but the sites of special importance on account of the variety and numbers of temples found there are Aihole, Mahākūteśvara, Paṭṭadakal, Bādāmi, Ālampur, Satyavolū and Mahānandi. Of these, Aihole appears to be a veritable architectural laboratory for making the experiments in the art of temple-building.

The construction of free-standing temples in stone or in brick and stone[133] was not[134] entirely a new phenomenon for the southern peninsula. The Banavāsi Kadambas, the predecessors of the Chālukyas, endowed religious edifices, the Jain basti from Halsi,[135] ascribed to king Mṛigeśavarman of the dynasty who flourished in the first half of the fifth century, being the oldest extant institution

of the kind. This Jaina basti with its walls made of huge roughly hewn granite boulders verges almost on the primitive.[136] There is a slight improvement noticeable in the Śaiva temple at Tālagunda, also belonging to the early Kadamba period.[137] There is a reduction in the size of the masonry and the stones have a smooth surface. The pillars in this shrine are either square or cylindrical monoliths and save for the dvārapālakas at the bottom and a very slight ornamentation on the shaft they present an unassuming appearance.[138]

The group of temples at Kadroli,[139] built in the bed of the Malaprabhā might perhaps give us an idea of the early Kadamba style. They are similar in construction to the Tālagunda temple above referred to. Nevertheless, they are important for their vimāna, which is a perfect pyramid marked with horizontal stages that have the appearance of steps. It is interesting to note that temples with similar tower or vimāna have been found also at the Chālukyan site of Aihole.[140]

During the days of the Chālukyas, the earlier movement of erecting free-standing shrines in stone received an impetus. A comparative study

of the stylistic evolution of the various parts of a temple suggests an early date, falling into the pre-Chālukyan period, at least for some of the shrines at Aihole, an important city of the Early Chalukya Bādāmi empire. They are, however, incorporated in the present study only for the purposes of reviewing the temple-building movement from its inception in this part of the country in order to understand the measure of Chālukya contributions towards its rapid development.

One of these pre-Chālukyan structures is the Jaina matha (No.8)[141] at Aihole, which with its plain interior and exterior along with the short heavy undecorated pillars resembles the above mentioned Kadamba example from Halsi.[142] But the smoothened surface of the stones in the Aihole monument would place it in a period later than the Jaina basti of Halsi. Again, the stepped towers of the Kadroli group belonging to the Kadambas seem to have inspired the architects of the temples numbered 10, 37 and 38 at Aihole,[143] which may not have been far removed in time from the former temples.[144]

The earliest Chālukya edifice at Aihole seems to be the temple of Lāḍ Khān, assigned by

Cousens to the second quarter of the fifth century[145] - a date, which is also accepted by the later scholars including Coomaraswamy[146] and Percy Brown.[147] The cave-like character of this temple in its low ceiling and massive square pillars with sparse decoration could scarcely escape the attention of Cousens,[148] who also noticed a fish-design in a circular window,[149] which bears a likeness to a similar decoration in the ceiling of the second cave at Bādāmi.[150] The sanctum or the garbha-gṛiha is provided in the rear wall of the temple,[151] there being no circumambulatory passage -- a feature common to the rock-cut Bādāmi temples.[152] It is significant that a figure of Varāha, the family emblem of the Chālukyas, along with the Sun, the Moon and the lamp is carved on a semi-circular medallion on one of the pillars in this temple.[153] We have already seen that the second cave at Bādāmi, also a Chālukya monument, belongs to a period earlier than the third cave at the same place, which was completed in A. D. 578.[154] [155] The former may therefore be assigned to the second or the third quarter of the sixth century. It is not unlikely that the temple of Lāḍ Khān with its cave-like features was built at the time when

the second cave was being carved out at Bādāmi -- almost a hundred years later than the date suggested by Cousens. The other temples of much the same style at Aihole are those of the Kont-gudi group as well as the two, numbered seven and eleven.[156]

The Durgā temple from Aihole is another[157] landmark in the history of temple architecture, indicating a stage of experimentation in the temple-design. Its apsidal end and the two rows of columns dividing the main hall of the temple into a central nave and the two aisles on either side appear to have been inspired by an almost similar design of the Buddhist Chaitya caves. The place of the dagoba in the latter is occupied by the garbha-griha, the Durgā temple being a Brāhmanical monument. Apart from its significance as an illustration of the period of experiments, the temple is important on account of the unique pillard verandah running around the structure,[158] the sculptural decorations on the front columns,[159] the niches provided in the outer wall to enshrine the images of gods and finally for the vimāna,[160] though primitive in appearance, rising over its flat roof.[161] Of these the three latter features

became integral parts of a Hindu temple now onwards. Ofcourse the form of vimāna would differ from one temple to another, but it is always there unless lost or damaged. Similarly both the comparatively simple niches and bold sculpture on the pillars of this temple assumed a highly ornamental form in the Belūr-Halebidu examples[162] of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, nevertheless, they continue to appear.

A few points may here be noted before we turn our attention to the seventh and the eighth century Chālukya temples at Paṭṭadakal and Ālampur.[163] The flat roof of the Lāḍ Khān was suggested by the Jain bastis[164] or still earlier the dolmens of ' primitive man '[165] found in the Karṇāṭaka region, while the niches in the outer wall of the Durgā temple were in all probability[166] suggested by the box-like hollows of the rock-cut architecture[167] indicating thereby local origin for both these features. These two simple aspects apparently were an inevitable outcome of the process of development taking place within the mind of an architect, irrespective of the place, and hence, one need not in them search for ' Gupta influence '[168] as some scholars are prone to do.

Again, the designation ' Indo-Āryan ' or Northern, coined by Fergusson[169] and adopted by the later scholars like Cousens,[170] Percy Brown,[171] Panchamukhi[172] and Coomaraswamy,[173] for the vertical curvilinear vimāna of a temple surmounted by an āmalaka śilā is far from being correct. Such towers on the Huchchimalligudi[174] and the Durgā[175] temples from Aihole belonging to the second half of the sixth century[176] as well as the Satrughneśvara and the Paraśurāmeśvara[177] temples at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa, assigned respectively to the sixth and the seventh centuries,[178] show the contemporaneous appearance of this form in the north-east and the south-west.[179] The seventh century Chālukyan architects repeatedly use the vertical vimāna as is borne out by the temple numbered 9 from Aihole,[180] the Galaganātha, Kadasiddheśvara and Pāpanātha temples at Paṭṭadakal[181] and some of the Nava-Brahmā group of shrines from Ālampur.[182]

Returning to the next stage of the development of structural temple under the Chālukyas, we may consider the Ālampur-Paṭṭadakal temples, which continue the architectural movement inaugurated in so promising a manner at Aihole. The building

activities at these two places seem to have commenced in the middle of the seventh century roughly coinciding with the beginning of the reign of Vikramāditya I and lasted for about a century coming to a close in about A. D. 750, not long after the end of the reign of Vikramāditya II. It may incidentally be noted that during this very period the dynasty reached the height of its power and consequently it must have been possible to make larger sums of money available to erect these monuments of arresting interest and greater proportions. The architects during this phase, were engaged in evolving a more balanced scheme of the temple, the basic pattern being already attained at Aihole.

The three halls termed as the bhoga-maṇḍapa (refrectory hall), the naṭa-maṇḍapa (dancing hall) and the Jagamohana (hall of audience) attached to the garbha-gṛiha in the medieval temples like Liṅgarāja, however, were never known during the period of our study. A Chālukya temple essentially contained an entrance, the pillared hall, the antarala or the portion connecting the sanctum with the latter, the

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pradakshinā̇patha or the circumambulatory passage lighted by the grilled windows and the sanctum sanctorum.[184]

The temple of Pāpanātha at Paṭṭadakal[185] is important, for its plan and design seem to have been followed in the group of six temples at Ālampur,[186] which are essentially identical and have a general likeness to the former, best visible in the traceried canopy over the niches in their outer walls and their vertical vimāna surmounted by an āmalaka śilā. According to Percy Brown[187] there is hardly any proportion between the plan and elevation of the Pāpanātha temple. The structure extends to a length of 90 feet, while the curvilinear vimāna with the āmalaka śilā which rises above it is not high enough to present a composite picture.[188] Again, the disproportionate antarāla gives an unwieldy appearance to the temple, while the stereotyped decorated niches repeated as many as thirty times show a poverty of imagination.[189] These shortcomings, as suggested by Percy Brown[190] may be due to the fact that the art of temple-building was still in a formative stage. These architectural defects, however, are compensated by the vigorous sculpture

in alto-relievo at the base of the massive, cave-like pillars inside the central hall of the temple.[191]

The Viśva Brahmā temple, the best preserved of the Ālampur group, is a modified representation of the Pāpanātha type. The different parts of this shrine are found to be in much better proportion creating a far more coherent composition.[192] The Ālampur shrines also differ from the Paṭṭadakal example in their slender pillars decorated with the vase and foliage capital.[193]

The Chālukyan architects at Paṭṭadakal, however, do not appear to have taken long to perceive the defects of the Pāpanātha design. In less than thirty years they had so mastered the technique that[194] the temples like Saṅgameśvara, Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha which they constructed on much the same lines became things of organic beauty, as they did a[195] following plan which gave a sense of proportion to the building on account of the harmonious blending of its parts. The vimāna towering over these temples may be of different orders, but they very much resemble the[196] Papanatha pattern with regard to their ground plan.

Of these temples the most imposing is the

Virūpāksha[197] also known as the Lokeśvara. It was built under the orders of Lokamahādevī, the queen consort of Vikramāditya II, to comemmorate her royal husband's three victories over the Pallavas.[198] There could be very little doubt that the Virūpāksha temple was inspired by the Kailāsanātha shrine at Kāñchī,[199] constructed under orders of Narasiṁhavarman II (Rājasiṁha) who ruled from about A.D. 695 to 722.[200] The two separate gateways, the detached Nandimaṇḍapa and a series of cell-shrines built against the courtyard wall are some of the outstanding similarities between the two temples. On the other hand, the pyramidal tower which crowns both the temples need not have been an importation from the Pallava country, since it was known to the Chālukyas as early as the sixth century, having already appeared on the Mahākūṭa temple near Bādāmi,[201] the presence of which in the reign of Pulakeśin I (c. A. D. 530 - 566) is proved by Maṅgaleśa's inscription of A. D. 602.[202] The monolithic rock-cut shrines at Mahābalipuram, popularly known as the rathas which saw the light of day in the reign of Mahendravarman I (A.D. 600 - 635), are therefore not the earliest structures to have pyramidal tower marked by

horizontal courses.[203] It is also significant that the Virūpāksha temple, inspite of its pronounced Pallava influence, is to be classified as a Nāgara monument on account of its square śikhara,[204] while the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñchī, with its octagonal śikhara would be classed as a Drāviḍa.[205][206]

The honorific title temkan-diseya sutradhāri or ' the architect of the southern country ' attached to the name of Guṇḍa,[207] who is described as architect of Lokeśvara (Virūpāksha) temple in the contemporary inscription in the porch of this shrine,[208] not to speak of its prominent Pallava features, led a scholar like Cousens to believe that the architect was a person from the Pallava country.[209][210] Mr. Panchamukhi, on the other hand, has gone to the other extreme, and interprets the title to mean that the southern portion of the temple was constructed by Guṇḍa. This interpretation is not warranted,[211] since the inscription actually points to Guṇḍa as the architect of the Lokeśvara (Virūpāksha), which leaves hardly any doubt that he was responsible for the design and the construction of the entire structure. The fact, however, is that in ancient India the whole

of southern peninsula from the Vindhyas downwards went by the name of Dakshiṇāpatha which exactly corresponds to the Kanarese words, ' temkan diseya.'

A word must now be said about the stylistic classification of temples. In a recent article on the subject, Dr. Rama Rao has questioned the adequacy[212] of Fergusson's classification of temples into Indo-Āryan and Drāviḍian groups[213], which classification has been blindly accepted by scholars like Coomaraswamy[214], Cousens[215] and Percy Brown[216]. As pointed out by Dr. Rama Rao[217], according to Śrikumāra's Śilparatna[218], a treatise on sculpture, it is the shape of the śikhara or the crowning member of the vimāna (tower) which distinguishes one style from another. Thus if the śikhara be a square, as in the case of Virūpāksha temple[219], the structure has to be assigned to the Nāgara style. On the other hand, if the śikhara is in the form of an āmalaka śilā or a plain circular stone, as is the case with the Pāpanātha[220], Mallikārjuna[221], and Gaḷaganātha[222] temples at Paṭṭadakal and almost all the Ālampur shrines[223], the temple would belong to the Vesara order; while if the śikhara be octagonal, which is the case with the Mahākūṭa temple[224] and the Malegitti Śivālaya[225]

at Bādāmi, the temple would be classified as Drāviḍa.

Profusion of sculpture is the distinguishing feature of the art of the Chālukya period. The image takes its place in the architecture of the age, irrespective of religious faith, be it Buddhist, Jaina or Hindu. The period also marks the beginning of a tendency which completely overshadowed architecture in the medieaval period, the Hoyasāḷa monuments at Belūr and Halebidu being the best examples of this phenomenon.[226] Like the latter, the caves and temples of the Chālukyan epoch are studded with carvings of gods and goddesses, men and women as well as flora and fauna. A casual glance at this world of sculpture will show how lovingly the artist devoted his skill and care to the delineation of the human figure in its myriad forms. The anthropomorphic representations of gods and goddesses consequent on the spread of the Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Paurāṇic Hinduism the sculptor urged to endeavour to bring out not only the quality of flesh but also the sense of spirituality in the images.

After the disintegration of the Sātavāhana

empire and prior to the emergence and expansion of the Chālukya supremacy in the Dakshiṇāpatha, the Vākāṭakas of Central India may be considered the major political power, who during the fifth century made endowments to Buddhist establishments at Ajantā,[227] the best centre of creative Buddhist art -- a region which was destined to pass into the hands of the Bādāmi Chālukyas in the following century. The epigraphical evidence shows that the Vākāṭakas had entered into matrimonial alliances with the three important political powers of the time -- the Imperial Guptas of Magadha,[228] the Vishnukuṇḍins[229] and the Kadambas,[230] the latter two having respectively succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the present Andhra Pradesh and the Karṇāṭaka regions.[231] Again, we know from his Allāhbād praśasti[232] that the Gupta monarch Samudragupta during his military expedition attained a measure of success in the eastern provinces of South India, where the serene and majestic images of the Buddha, in the Varada, Abhaya and Dharmachakraparivartana mudras[233] had inspired the inmates of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa monastery for centuries. It is in this socio-political background, therefore, that we should account for the striking resemblance of the

Sāranātha Buddhas[234] to the statues of the Tathāgata at Nāgārjunikonda,[235] both in the excellence of modelling and the dignity of expression. Similarly, the Gaṅgā figure from Besanagar[236] and other Gupta female figures seem to owe at least some of their charm to the Nāgārjunikonda damsels,[237] the plastic qualities of the two being identical.

In like manner the influence of the Andhra art was carried to the south and it affected the statuary of the monuments which were being raised by the Pallava Mahendravarman in the first quarter of the seventh century,[238] while in the west it influenced the Kadamba sculptors who owe their creation of the attenuated human figure to similar form familiar in the Sātavāhana art centres of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikonda.[239] The only known Kadamba sculpture is the fifth century Mahishāsuramardinī,[240] now preserved at Jambehalli in the Sorab taluka and ascribed to the reign of Śāntivarman, son of Kākutsthavarman. The vertical tiara adoring the head of the goddess and her slender physique are features all too familiar in the Sātavāhana sculptures from the Andhra Pradesh and the later Pallava statues at

Mahābalipuram and Kāñchīpuram.[241] Thirty years ago Dr. Moraes invited attention to the great likeness which an early Chālukyan Mahishāsuramardinī[242] from the first cave at Bādāmi bears to this unattached image of the goddess belonging to the Kadamba period. The elongated vertical crown with a slight difference in ornamental details, the pose of the figure, the manner of piercing the Mahisha represented in the theriomorphic form[143] as well as the plastic qualities suggest the possibility of its being modelled after its Kadamba predecessor.

Stylistically, the Chālukya sculpture with the firm and broad shoulders and the fully expanded chest of the male members and the heavy breasts of the female figures is descended from the images marked by similar features found in the Bhājā, Bedsā, Koṇḍāne, Kanheri and Kārle caves of Western India belonging to the Sātavāhana period;[244] where as the well-proportioned and graceful feminine forms seen in the bracket figures adorning the third cave at Bādāmi were evolved out of the elongated female figures, who with narrow waist-line and moderately rounded hips, assume charming poses and attitudes at the Sātavāhana sites of

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the Amarāvati-Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

The earliest products of the Chālukya art however, are the carvings of the Pūrṇakalaśa motif and the mithuna figures on the outer walls of the Lāḍ Khān temple at Aiholḷe,[245] constructed sometime in the first half of the sixth century.[246] The mithuna figures on the Lāḍ Khān temple obviously owe their conceptual elements such as their heavy physiognomy to the cave-sculptures of Western India just spoken of.

In the third cave at Bādāmi also belonging to the same century the same conceptual elements dominate the figures, best illustrated by the Vishnu sitting on the Ananta, the Varāha, the Narasiṁha and the Harihara panels.[247] Unlike these images of dynamic force, the bracket figures in this cave,[248] with their slightly tilted slender bodies, standing under the canopies of stylized foliage, fully engrossed in adorning their person could be considered the excellent examples of grace crystallised in stone. The Eastern Sātavāhana style of Amarāvati - Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, here reaches its ne plus ultra of creative perfection.

During the hundred years that followed, the Chālukya sculptors at Paṭṭadakal[249] and Ālampur[250] made sucoessful attempts at blending those two styles into a creative synthesis, the results of which can be seen in the sculptures in the Pāpanātha temple at Paṭṭadakal[251], which may be ascribed to the first decade of the eighth century.[252] These carvings mark the beginning of what may be designated as the Chālykya style in which the strong and heavy build of the Bādāmi figures is partly relieved by the elongation of the limbs of the human body after the spirit of Nāgārjunikonḍa.[253] The element of stiffness which characterizes the portrayal of majestic gods at Bādāmi yields place to the supple modelling of the different parts of the human body, bringing the sculpture from the Divine plane of Bādāmi to the human at Paṭṭadakal.[254] The excellent execution of the work at the latter site reveals the command and confidence with which the sculptor wielded his chisel. The people of the age and the artists themselves seem to be aware of the great advance made in the field of plastic art and there is little wonder that Baladeva Ayya, the author of this matchless achievement in the decoration of the

central mandapa of the Pāpanātha temple,[255] is described as (prati) -bhaya-duran, i.e. ' free from fear of rivals.'[256] The contemporary carvings in the Rāmeśvara and Dumar Lena[257] caves of Ellorā and in some of the Aurangabad[258] caves - both situated within the Chālukya empire, bear an unmistakable impress of the Chālukya workmanship characteristic of the monuments at Bādāmi and Paṭṭadakal.

Unlike the sculptors of Paṭṭadakal, some of the sculptors of Aihole were not able to secure similar results in the process of synthesis. The three panels from this place, now preserved at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, are of mediocre make, both compositionally and plastically, the representation of the swan, the stylised formation of clouds and certain female figures being the only relieving exceptions.[259] The unsuccessful attempt to imitate the delicate features of the Amarāvati-Nāgārjunikonda has here resulted in imparting an effeminate appearance to the gods and their retinue, a failure which is fortunately not shared by other Chālukyan sculptures. These Aihole pieces insignificant though they be from an artisitc point of view, nevertheless mark a stage in the

evolution of the Chālukya style, and hence have a historical importance all their own.

The life-sized mithuna couples, carved in the round which decorate the lithic columns and walls of the Virūpāksha[260] and Mallikārjuna[261] temples, are the unequalled achivements of the Chālukyas. By the employment of elegant coiffures and choice jewels the sculptor has fully exploited the contrast between the crisply carved ornaments and hair-styles on one hand and the plane surface of the unadorned expanse of human frame on the other. The reduction in the herculean proportions of the Bādāmi images almost to human size at Paṭṭadakal imparts a sense of reality to the carved male and female figures at the latter place.

The individual sculptures in the large horizontal friezes[262] in the caves at Bādāmi and the panels[263] on the columns of the Paṭṭadakal temples depicting scenes from the epics are not carved as sharply as the larger images at the same places. This probably may be owing to the small and narrow space allotted to the scenes, as also to overcrowding of the panel in a scene like the churning of

the ocean by the devas and the asuras. Although the figures are not carefully modulated, the reliefs succeed in producing the desired effect.

For the purposes of our study the sculpture may be divided into two broad categories: the first comprising the cult images and the second consisting of decorative motifs. The statues of the gods and the goddesses go to make the first group, while the second would include a motley collection such as human figures, erotic sculptures, semi-divine beings like Gandharvas, Nāgas, Yakshas, enigmatic figures of amusing character, flora and fauna, scrolls and arabesques, swastika arranged in varied manners, latticed windows with their geometrical and floral patterns, scenes depicting fables and stories, chaitya arches, lotus and circular medallions and finally, carved panels representing the scenes of everyday in an ordinary individual's life.

The cult images of various creeds found at the Chālukyan sites represent the religious history of the period. The mythology that developed around the major deities now received

plastic representation and the sculptor appears to have become an efficient instrument for the popular education in matters religious. The importance of the Chālukyan sculpture lies in the fact that the carved horizontal friezes from the second and third Bādāmi caves and several panels from Paṭṭadakal temples depicting the stories connected with the childhood of Lord Krishṇa narrated in the works like the Harivaṁśa and Bhāgavata, the syncretic image of Harihara and the sculptural representations of various incarnations of Vishṇu are the earliest known carvings of their type from the western half of the southern peninsula. The acquaintance and popularity of the two epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, is fully borne out by the sculptural panels from the Pāpanātha,[264] Mallikārjuna[265] and the Virūpāksha[266] temples at Paṭṭadakal which have some of the major episodes from these epics as their subjects. The identification is rendered absolutely certain on account of labelled inscriptions[267] in the characters of the seventh and eighth century accompanying these plastic scenes.

Again, the coterie of the Buddhist

sculptures of the period from Ellorā[268] and Aurangabad,[269] with its widespread representation of the goddesses like Tārā, Jambhālā, Cundā and the Śaktis of the Dhyani Buddhas indicate that the changes of an extremely far-raching character were being introduced in the Mahāyāna doctrine -- the changes which were destined to transform it at no distant date into Vajrayāna -- a Tāntric form of Buddhism.

An interesting assertion in connection with the image worship is made in the Jābāla Upanishada,[270] which states that a yogin perceives Śiva in his heart and the images are meant for ignorant people, शिवमात्मनि पश्यन्ति प्रतिमासु न योगिनः। अज्ञानां भावनार्थाय प्रतिमाः परिकल्पिताः। A statue of God, a visible object of worship was thus accepted by the Hindu religious thinkers in order to gradually uplift a common man to the sublime height of True Realisation. The icon was a sacred symbol, ' a vessel designed to receive and to hold a charge of consciousness projected from within by a meditating devotee,' and it was natural that rules and instructions regarding its creation be formulated. The consistancy in the proportions and modelling of the cult images of

Bodhisatva, Tirthaṅkaras, Śiva and Vishṇu in the rock-cut temples at Bādāmi,[271] strongly suggests that the sculptors of this statuary belonged apparently to the same school and faithfully followed its rules of craft. An interesting piece of evidence, in this connection, comes from a short lithic epigraph[272] inscribed on a boulder to the left of the image of Durgā near the fourth gate of the fort at Gooty in the Anantapura district. The inscription reads as follows:

> ' This sacred image of the Supreme Goddess was caused to be made according to the standard form through (the artist who was) a descendant of Kāśyapa, by the illustrious Yuvarāja Śrīvallabha, a piercing jewel to all the evil spirits.' 273.

The inscription does not mention the name of the crown prince, who caused the image of the goddess to be made. But the peculiar Chālukya appellation, Śrīvallabha attached to the term Yuvarāja, the archaic Kannada characters of about the sixth-seventh century and the language which is an admixture of faulty Sanskrit and old Kanarese hardly leave room for doubt that the epigraph belonged to the Chālukya period.[274] Nor does it

mention the name of the sculptor. But it gives a significant piece of information when it states that he belonged to the lineage of Kāśyapa. For if this Kāśyapa was the renowned śilpakāra[275] of the same name in mentioning whom as his ancestor the present sculptor seems to feel more honoured than in disclosing his own name, it would follow that some of the sculptors during the Bādāmi-Chālukya period followed the rules of sculpture laid down by Kāśyapa in his well-known treatise on śilpaśāstra called the Kāśyapiya, also known as Aṁsumadabheda, which is edited in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit series, Poona.[276] This work had won such ascendancy among the sculptors of South India that, as Mr. Gangooly has truly observed, 'the young pupils are even now taught to learn by heart the verses given in this book regarding the rules of construction and measurements of images.'[277]

Other sculptors in the South would seem to have followed the principles laid down in the Vaikhānasāgama. According to Dr. J. N. Banerjee the description of the Dhruvaberas (achala or immovable) of Vishnu given in the prose version of the Vaikhānasāgama tally in a remarkable manner with the extant Vaishnava images of Southern India

of the sixth to eighth centuries of the Christian era.[278]

It is our great good fortune that the name of some of the renowned sculptors of the period have come down to us thanks to the fact that at Aihole and Paṭṭadakal in particular the names of these sculptors are inscribed ~~in the inscriptions~~ below the images. Thus, Chengamma made the figure of Śiva trampling upon the demon (Apasamara purusha),[279] and Śrī Pullapan Nrammanadevan carved the four-headed image of Śiva[280] on the walls of the Virūpāksha temple. Baladeva Ayya described as (Prati)-bhaya-duran, ' free from the fear of rivals ' in the inscription, was another sculptor to whom we owe the chef-d'oeuvre carved in the central maṇḍapa of the Pāpanātha temple and others of equal elegance on the outer walls of the Virūpāksha temple.[281] A pillar in the front porch of the Huchchappayana gudi in S. No. 270 at Aihole furnishes the names of two more sculptors,[282] Narasobba who is described as unequalled in the whole Jambudvīpa and Gaṇasobba who was the author of the dvārapālaka statue at the same place.

Only a brief reference is possible to the iconography of the large number of cult images

appearing on the Chālukya monuments, as a detail survey is here clearly out of place.

In the majority of Śaivite temples of the period, the object of worship was Liṅga, while the anthropomorphic representations of Śiva in his both saumya (peaceful) and rudra (terrific) aspects were placed in the various parts of the shrine. The latter include several Natarāja images with a varying number of hands[283] - from two to sixteen-the Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti[284], the Vṛishavāhanamūrti[285], Śiva with matted hair[286], trampling upon the Apasamara purūsha, the syncretic icons of Harihara[287], and Ardhanārīśvara[288] and Lakuliśa, the twenty-eighth incarnation of Śiva, represented with matted hair and holding a staff in one of his two hands[289]. The Chālukya sculptors were also familiar with the Liṅgodbhavamūrti of Siva which is carved on the[290] outer wall of the Virūpāksha temple and with the Pañchamukhaliṅga[291] which is found at the Mahākūṭeśvara.

Almost all the Chālukya images of Vishṇu are carved in relief and hence they fall into the category of the dhruvaberas of the Vaikhānasāgama classification. The dhruvaberas are divided into

four broad varieties, yoga, bhoga, vira and abhichārikā, on the basis of particular results to be attained by the devotee, after worshipping them;[292] then each of these sub-groups is further divided into three classes according to the attitude in which such images are shown - sthānaka (standing), Āsana (seated) and śayana (recumbent);[293] lastly, every one of these twelve sub-groups is divided into three classes as uttama, madhyama and adhama, according to the number of accessory figures that cluster round the central deity.[294] In accordance with the above classification of the Vaikhānasāgama, the yogaśayana image of Vishṇu from Aihole falls into the madhyama class since the figures of the saptaka-rishis and Vishvakasena are absent,[295] while the Virāsanamūrti of the same god from the same place has to be relegated to the adhama variety on account of the absence of the figures of Brahmā, Śiva, Laxmī, Bhumidevī and Sūrya.[296] Among the incarnations of Vishṇu, the Nṛ-varāha and Narasiṁha were popular with the Chālukya sovereigns who were responsible for the carvings of these forms at Bādāmi,[297] Aihole[298] and Paṭṭadakal.[299] Both were therio-anthropomorphic forms of Vishṇu, in the one the head of a boar and in the other the head of a lion being joined

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to the human body. Equally popular was the representation of the Trivikrama or Vāmana incarnation, sculptured in two of the three Brāhmanical caves at Bādāmi.[300]

In her Principles of Composition in Hindu sculpture - Cave Temple Period, one of the latest works on the subject, Miss Alice Boner endeavoures to show that the composition of sculptural panels in some of the early cave temples, including those at Bādāmi and Ellorā, was constantly based on concentric space-organization.[301] An Orissan manuscript, entitled Śilpaprakāśa, written in Sanskrit and belonging presumably to the tenth or eleventh century A. D., is the only text which corroborates the findings of Miss Boner regarding the principle which, she holds, governed the composition of the early cave sculptures.[302] This text is entirely based on Tāntric doctrines and it deals with the construction of a shrine of the Devī.[303]

The sculptures in the Mahāyāna Buddhist caves like Do Thal and Tin Thal and also in Śaivite monuments like the Kailāsa at Ellorā, no doubt indicate the growing popularity of the Tāntric

doctrines in this region. But it yet remains uncertain whether during the early period, when the Chālukyas ruled supreme, the Tāntric theory of sculptural compositions, mentioned in the tenth - eleventh century Orissan manuscript, ever exercised such a hold on the sculptors as to govern the compositions of not only the Mahāyāna Buddhist and Śaivite statuary of Ellorā, but also those of the Vaishnavite themes like Varāha and Trivikrama panels at Bādāmi. Moreover, the theory of sculptural composition propounded by Miss Boner, while it may be true of the sculpture of the medieaval period contemporary with the Orissan manuscript under consideration, yet requires further corroboration to be accepted for the earlier periods.

In accordance with early tradition as exemplified on the Bārhut[304] and Sāñchī[305] stūpas, the Chālukya sculptors made extensive use of female figures for monumental decorations. The female figures in the third Bādāmi cave are not the śālabhañjikās in the proper sense of the term, though they are shown standing under the stylised foliage, a feature being generally associated with the latter. The

women adorning the bracket figures of this cave are found absorbed in decorating their own persons, one looking at her face in the mirror,[306] another putting on a necklace and so forth.[307] The chāmaradhāriṇi, the woman holding a fly-wisk, on the south wall of the Viśva Brahmā temple at Ālampur,[308] is the work of vigorous art marked by naturalism and equipoise. Again, a woman is seen conversing with a parrot perched on her right palm on the wall of the Nandimaṇḍapa of the Virūpāksha temple.[309]

Another decorative device popular with the Chālukya sculptors was the representation of amorous couples dressed in diaphonous costumes and bedecked with choiced jewellary. We come across such sculptures on the walls of the Lāḍ Khān and[310] Durgā temples at Aihole[311] as well as in the caves at Bādāmi but no where do they appear so prominently[312] as in the temple of Virūpāksha at Paṭṭadakal.[313] The sixteen pilasters in the central hall of the temple bear the loving couples carved almost in the round between three to four and half feet tall.[314] Their coiffeures arranged in fantastic styles of unimaginable variety would show that hair-dressing was developed into a fine-art during the Chālukya

period. The male partner of the couple standing near the entrance of the hall is comforting his consort who is terrified by a monkey.[315] In the Mallikārjuna temple from the same place there are two couples[316] standing in the kaṇṭhāśleśa pose in which according to the Kāmasūtra,[317] the man and the woman place their hand on each other's shoulders. Here the male figure who appears a warrior on account of the dagger worn in his belt is offering a shallow cup, probably a wine glass, to his beloved. The small and narrow panels at Paṭṭadakal and Bādāmi show couples squatting on the ground engaged in conversation or sitting on the cot in various amorous poses.[318]

The semi-divine couples of Gandharvas flying in the sky are a common occurance in the monuments of this period, the best being from Aihole, now in the National Museum, Delhi.[319] The peculiar bend of their legs as well as their puffed up garments suggest their floating position in the mid-air. The photograph of one such couple from the Durgā temple printed in the L' Inde Images Divines of V.de Golish and P. Rambach shows the male Gandharva offering a bowl of liquid, probably of wine, to his female partner.[320] These Gandharvas

holding garlands in their hands are carved at the top corners of the panels filled with important divinities.[321]

Of less frequent occurance are the representations of the Nāgas appearing as half serpant and half human beings. Generally the lower serpantine portion is coiled around to form a circle and the human head appears under the hoods of a serpant as may be seen in the central portion of the ceiling in the verandah of the first cave at Bādāmi.[322] A similar Nāga in the Durgā temple has a garland in one hand and a lotus flower in the other.[323]

In almost all the Chālukya monuments[324] there are sculptures of corpulent gaṇas with protruding bellies, engaged in activities of varied nature. In a temple at Paṭṭadakal they are supporting the ceiling with uplifted hands and bent knees. At the base of the Trivikrama image in the second[325] cave at Bādāmi, four gaṇas are shown playing on musical instruments. They are mostly depicted merry-making, their chubby figures being adorned with necklaces of beads or pearls and large ear-rings. The stylized curls of their hair resemble the wings

of the present day magistrates and judges.

Equally common are the Kīrtimukhas,[326] or the grotesque heads of a lion, with pearls dropping down from their mouths. Their wide-open large eyes with bulging eyeballs and open mouths are designed to strike terror. The upper portion of most of the pillars in the central hall of the Virūpāksha temple has the carvings of the Kīrtimukhas.[327] And Dr. Panigrahi thinks that these latter were intended to signify that the builder's or donor's fame was as white as pearls.

The makara toranas or the arches made of crocodiles over the niches in the outer walls of the Virūpāksha temple are well preserved and serve a decorative purpose.[328] The edges of the beams ending in the verandah of the first cave at Bādāmi are carved with the crocodile motif from whose open mouths lions and human beings are shown issuing forth.[329]

Medallions of various shapes - circular, semi-circular and lotiform - containing sculptures of animals, human beings and divinities provide welcome relief to the rigid stone-shafts of the pillars and pilasters.[330] The chaitya windows locally[331]

known as the kudus carved in low-relief enclosing one or two human heads and at times containing representations of miniature buildings are profusely used for decorative purposes. The pillars, originally an architectural feature, emerge as a piece of sculptural beauty with their carved medallions, fluted shafts, ribbed cushion or vase capitals surmounted by charming bracket figures.[332]

A semi-circular medallion in the Virūpāksha temple encloses a furious elephant trampling upon a horse,[333] while a carving from the first cave at Bādāmi depicts the fight between an elephant and a bull.[334] A measure of the success achieved by the Chālukya sculptors are the realistic representations of animals and birds of which the most frequently found are elephant, horse, lion, ram, boar, crocodile, cow, bull, monkey, parrot, peacock, swan, eagle, goose and fish.[335]

Interesting conventions were used to depict certain objects and ideas.[336] Thus water is indicated by horizontal wavy lines interpersed with the figures of acquatic birds, plants and animals, while fire and flames are represented by long vertical strokes arranged like the drawn tongue of a lion. An idea

of mountain is conveyed by the pile of blocks of stones with cavities showing faces of wild animals peeping through them and the forest is suggested by dense foliage, hermitages and wild animals.

The Pañchatantra story of ' The monkey and the crocodile ' is carved, on the left side of the first pillar in the second row of the lithic columns inside the central hall of the Mallikārjuna temple at Paṭṭadakal, while another pillar in the same line carries the fable of ' The monkey and the wedge ' also from the same work.[337][338]

They also used enigmatic sculptures to decorate edifices. Thus we have at Paṭṭadakal three dancers with four instead of six legs, arranged so cleverly that each figure looks complete.[339] Likewise in the first cave at Ajantā we see the carvings of four deer with one common head,[340] while at Bādāmi there appears the famous gajavṛishabha motif,[341] i.e. an elephant and a bull with a common head.

Finally, the latticed windows carved in bold floral and linear patterns serve the double purpose of natural ventilation and pleasing

decoration in the temples at all the Chālukya sites.[342]

What the sculptors tried to achieve in stone, the painters tried to attain with brush and colours. Only a few traces of the paintings of our period remain on the walls of the rock-cut sanctuaries at Kanheri[343] (cave XIV[344]), Ajantā (caves I and II[345]) and Bādāmi (caves II and III). This meagre quantity of the extant remains, however, does not disappoint one as regards the quality of the paintings which the artists, on account of the mastery over their medium, appear to have achieved without any extra conscious effort.

In order to prepare a smooth surface the walls of the caves were thoroughly primed with a paste-like substance made of ~~this~~ powdered rock, clay and cowdung, not infrequently mixed with chaff or vegetable fibres, and sometimes also with mudga decoction or molass.[346] It is interesting to note that a chemical analysis of the plaster from Ajantā at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, revealed the inclusion of camel's hair in its composition, which, according to Mr. Chari, the curator, in charge of the Natural History Section of this Museum, might have been used to increase

the holding quality of the plaster.[347] The hard, uneven and porous surface of the rocks received an even application of this priming medium which was levelled and smoothened with the aid of a trowel. When it was still wet, the ground thus prepared was covered over with a coat of lime, in order to facilitate the absorbtion of the lime-wash.[348] According to Coomaraswamy[349] the ground was kept moist while the colours were applied, a method followed by the classical Italian masters like Leonardo da Vinci in his wall-painting entitled ' The Last Super ' in Milan and by Michelangelo in his fresco covering the ceiling of the Sistine chapel at the Vatican. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, however, is doubtful if the method of fresco buono followed by renaissance artists was known to the mural masters of our period.[350] On the contrary this learned scholar opines that the ground was allowed to be completely dry before the application of any colour thereon, and hence, the wall-painting of our period could correctly be described as fresco secco.[351] Be that as it may, an idea of the actual process of painting is provided by the half finished fresco in the fourteenth cave at Kanheri[352] which is ascribed to the sixth century. This Kanheri example would show that the outlines

of the entire composition were first drawn in red ochre or dhāturāga,[353] a colour used in writing the letters of epigraphs as well, as would appear from an uncarved but painted inscription on the rock of the southern hill at Bādāmi.[354] The Kanheri fresco also shows that the outlines were drawn in free hand unlike the classical European masters who invariably resorted to the extensive use of stencils in drawing a composition. Having finished the initial but important part of composition, the artist proceeded to fill in the various colours, one after the other. From this stage of colouration consisting of laying on of highlights and employment of tonal varieties of colours, there would emerge a world of gods, minor deities, human beings and animals pulsating with life. The painting including though it did several characters became a composite whole what with the renewal of the outlines in brown, black and deep red, and with thin or thick shading according to the needs of each of the characters in the picture, which gave these characters a firmer look.

The method of free hand drawing employed in the frescoes of our period is an eloquent testimony to the superb draftsmanship of the

artist and the command which he possessed over his brush. This mastery could come only after years of practice at sketching, while the strength and spontaneity which characterize these paintings was the outcome of the free, firm and bold outlines.

The principal colours used in the caves at [355] Ajantā are red ochre (dhāturāga), vivid red (kuṁkuṁ or sindura), yellow ochre, indigo blue, lapis lazuli blue, lamp black, chalk-white, terra verte and green. It should, however, be observed that the use of blue colour in both forms is almost [356] avoided at Bādāmi. Mixed colours like gray were [357] used at Bādāmi in the treatment of hair. The Bādāmi frescoes executed mainly with terra verte, Indian red, earth buff and light green, in their innumerable tones exhibit the sobriety in colour taste of the Chālukya artists.

[358] It is agreed that in both colour and modelling the paintings in the second cave at Ajantā have reached the peak of perfection, and there is no difference of opinion about the artistic excellence of the two large figures of the Bodhisatvas, Padmapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara in the first cave. As Dr. Nihar [359] Ranjan Ray has truly observed:

'.....(Though of) large dimensions they are yet weightless; fully bodied forth in solid rounded plasticity, they are yet melting in karuṇā, and seemingly in motion in the midst of a radiantly moving and rejoicing world, they seem to have become stilled into silence before a great realisation. With eyelids lowered they withdraw themselves into their own depths.'

The paintings in the front maṇḍapa of the third cave at Bādāmi have been described by Stella Kramrisch, who first discovered them, as scenes from Śiva's marriage.[360] Prof. Sivaramamurti,[361] however, in his recent article accompanied by colour reproductions of the copies of the Bādāmi frescoes prepared by Shri Jagannatha Ahivasi and his assistants, identifies one of these as a dancing scene in the Vaijayanta palace of Indra, and thinks that the other is a representation of Kīrtivarman I and his queen in one of the inner apartments of the palace. In the absence of conclusive evidence on the subject, identification of the Bādāmi frescoes still remains uncertain. But there could be no room for doubt about the masterly manner of their execution. Comparing the frescoes at Bāgh, Ajantā and Bādāmi Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray wisely observes:[362]

' Indeed, they (Bādāmi frescoes)

have been bodied forth by modelling the colour in full roundness, shading the outlines and profuse application of high lights where the painted relief reaches the highest point. The technique follows that of Ajantā and Bāgh, but the style hardly conforms to that of any of them, not even the last phases of Ajantā with which they are considered to be contemporaneous. In caves I and II of Ajantā the modelling is summarised to a firmness that gives a hard and tight appearance to the texture of the body; the outline, too is shaded thickly and slightly, harshly. The modelling of Bādāmi, on the otherhand, is much more sensitive in texture and expression and the outline much more soft and elastic. With a slackening of the contour the figures exhale an intimate warmth and delicacy of feel and atmosphere that are unknown to the last phase of Ajantā.'

The art of painting was included among the sixty-four fine arts listed in the Kāmasūtra which mentions, paints, brushes and drawing boards as essentials in the personal apartment of an average citizen (nāgarika)[363]. The Kaumudīmahotsava of the queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā[364] represents prince Kalyāṇavarman and princess Kīrtimatī[365] as accomplished portrait painters and also refers to brushes and the colours prepared out of the metalic ores found in the Vindhya mountains.[366]

The Vishnu dharmottaram, ascribed to the

Gupta period, devotes a chapter to the art of painting and introduces technical details regarding vajralepa or the method of preparing the ground for murals, preparation and application of colours, methods of shading the line, adding the high lights, fore-shortening of limbs and features, various methods of treating the volume and the expression of mood (bhāva) and movement (chetanā)[367]. It also classifies painting according to themes such as satya, vainika, nāgara, and miśra[368], which Coomaraswamy interprets as realistic, lyrical, secular and mixed.[369] Yaśodhara in his commentary on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra mentions the six limbs or the shadāṅga of painting[370] viz., rūpabheda, pramāṇa, bhāva, lāvaṇyayojaṇa, sadṛisya and varṇikābhaṅga, which the same scholar renders as distinction of types, ideal proportions, expresseion of mood, embodiment of charm, points of view (with reference to stance, sthanam) and preparation of colours[371]. In distinguishing the kinds of paintings suitable for religious edifices, palaces and private apartments the Vishnudharmottaram[372] bears testimony to the popularity of the art of painting in those days.

N O T E S.

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(1) Supra, pp. 377 - 378.

(2) Watters, op.cit., vol. II, pp. 43, 115 and 116.

(3) Minakshi, op. cit., pp. 170 ff.

(4) Sathianathaier, ' Dynasties of South India,' CA, p. 868.

(5) Banerji, R. D. , Bas-reliefs from Bādāmi, (MASI, No.25.). Plates : III b and XVIII.

(6) Panchamukhi, KI. vol. I, pp. 3 ff.

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(7) Sircar, 'Amudālapādu Grant of Vikramāditya I,' EI, vol. XXXII, pp. 178-184.

(8) Cousens, ' The Chālukyan Architecture,' p.70.;

Annigeri, ' A Guide to the Pattadakal Temples, pp. 44-45.

(9) Panchamukhi, ' Bādāmi inscription of Chalikya Vallabheśvara Śaka 465,' EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 4- 9.

(10) Burgess, ' Rock-cut Temples at Bādāmi,' IA, vol. VI, pp. 363 - 364.

(11) Fleet, ' Mahākūta Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa,' IA, vol. XIX, pp. 9-19.

(12) Desai, ' Goḍachi Plates of Kaṭṭi-arasa, year 12,' EI, vol. XXVIII, pp. 59-62.

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(13) Supra, pp. 432 - 434.

(14) Watters, op. cit., vol.I, p. 159.

(15) Supra, n.10.

(16) Supra, n. 11.

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(17) Vats and Diskalkar, ' Two Grants of Prithivīchandra Bhogaśakti,' EI, vol. XXV, pp. 225 - 238.

(18) Deva Krishna, 'Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Mangalarasa, Śaka 613,' EI, vol. XXVIII, pp. 17-22.

(19) Fleet, ' Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. X, p. 166.

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(20) Fleet, ' Inscription of Mangalīśa at Bādāmi,' IA, vol. X, p. 59.

(21) Fleet, ' Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. X, pp. 166 -167.

(22) Fleet, 'W. Chalukya grant of Vijayāditya,' IA, vol. IX, pp. 126 and 128.

(23) Zimmer, op. cit., vol.II, Plate : 138.

(24) Ibid.

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(25) Supra, n. 10.

(26) Supra, pp. 105, and 173 -74.

(27) Banerji, R. D., op. cit., Plates: XI, a, XII a, b, c, d.

(28) Cousens, op. cit., Plates: XLVI and XLVIII.

(29) Fleet, ' Pattadakal Pillar inscription of the time of Kirtivarman II,' EI, vol. III, pp. 1-7.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Supra, p. 247.

(32) Cousens, op. cit., pp. 61-66.

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(33) Banerji, R. D., op. cit., Plates: II a, III, IV a, and V b and c.

(34) Cousens, op. cit., Plate : XXXIX.

(35) From personal observation.

(36) Fleet, ' W. Chalukya Grant of Nāgavardhana,' IA, vol. IX, pp. 123 ff.

(37) Banerji, R. D., op. cit., Plate: II b.

(38) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate: 117.

(39) Vijjakā, op. cit., p. 20 (Text); p.74(Trans.).

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(40) Vākpati, Gaudavaho, Introduction, pp- XXI - XXIV.

(41) Supra, pp. 70 and 71.

(42) Ibid.

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(43) Ibid.

(44) Fleet, ' Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. VII, pp. 101-112.

(45) Dr. Bhandarkar suggested (EHD, p. 191.) the identification of this

Pujyapāda with the great Jain grammerian of the same name who was the teacher of Ganga Durvinīta. As Durvinīta is now assigned to the second half of the sixth century (Chitalia, art. cit.). Pujyapāda, his teacher could have flourished only in the middle of that century and therefore could not have been identical with Pujyapada, the teacher of Vinayāditya's priest; as Vinayāditya and Durvinīta are separa by almost a century.

(46) Gai, ' Shiggāon Plates of Vijayāditya,' EI, vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff.

(47) Supra, n. 44.

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(48) Ibid.

(49) Panchamukhi, KI, vol. I, pp. 4 ff.

(50) Kielhorn, ' Aihole inscription of Pulikesi II,' EI, vol. VI, pp. 1-12.

(51) Rao, Laxminarayana, ' Annigeri Inscription of Kirtivarman (II), the sixth year,' EI, vol. XXI, pp. 204 -206.

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(52) Watters, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 229-40.

(53) Vijjakā, op. cit., Introduction, pp. 39-40.

(54) Supra, n. 52.

(55) Ibid.

(56) Ibid.

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(57) BG., vol. XIV(Thana), pp. 121 ff.

(58) Altekar, op. cit., p. 402.

(59) Banerji, op. cit., pp. 2 and 29.

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(60) Ibid., pp. 1 and 57.

(61) Supra, pp. 111-113.

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(62) Banerji, R. D., op. cit., Plates: XVI -XVIII.

(63) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 128 -131.

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(64) Cousens, op. cit., pp. 28-29 and fig. 4.

(65) The Progress Report of the Kannada Research Institute for 1953 - 57 in its section on excavations, refers to an amphitheatre, noticed by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, which is said to be situated behind the Sidalphadi cave, at a distance of three miles east of Adgal on the right side of the Bādāmi-Bijapur road. The Report, however, does not give any details or photographs of this excavation, which this learned scholar assigns to the sixth or seventh century of the Christian era. Nor could I elicit further information about the discovery in my personal conversation on the subject with him.(Ibid., pp.25.).

(66) Varāhamihira, op. cit., Part II, Ch. 6.

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(67) Banerji, R.D., op.cit., PP. 1 ff.;

Fredric, Indian Temples and Sculptures, Plate : 42.

(68) Supra, n. 10.

(69) Ibid.

(70) Ibid.

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(71) Ibid.

(72) Brown, op. cit., p. 62.

(73) Ibid., p. 63.

(74) Ibid., p. 62 and
Plate: VI.

(75) Banerji, R. D., op. cit., Plates : I c, VII, XV.

(76) From personal observation.

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(77) From personal observation.

(78) From personal observation.

(79) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate : 126.

(80) L'Inde, Plates : 31-32.

(81) Ibid.

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(82) Ibid.

(83) CA, Plate: IX, fig. 17.

(84) Ibid, fig. 18.

(85) Brown, op. cit., p. 62.

(86) Ibid., p. 83.

(87) Ibid., p. 85.

(88) Supra, n. 82.

(89) CA, Plate: VI, Fig: 12.

(90) Supra, n. 84.

(91) Supra, n. 83.

(92) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 126, 134 -136.;
Banerji, R. D. op. cit., Plates : I b and XIII.

(93) L'Inde, Plates : 31-32.;
Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 126, 127, 132 and 133.

(94) Brown, op. cit., p. 63.

(94.a) Ibid.

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(95) Ibid., pp. 65 ff.

(96) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 142 - 160.

(97) Brown, op. cit., p. 66.

(98) Ibid.

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(99) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 144-146.

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(100) Brown, op. cit., p. 69.

(101) Ibid., p.70.;
Zimmer, op. cit., Plates: 196 and 197.

(102) Brown, op. cit., p. 69.;
Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 198 - 201.

(103) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate : 198.

(104) Ibid., Plates : 200 and 201.

(105) Ibid., Plate : 198.

(106) Gupte and Mahajana, Ajantā and Ellorā, pp. 140- 141.

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(107) Brown, op. cit., p. 70.

(108) Plate: IX B.

(109) Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples of India, Plate : LXXXV.

(110) From personal observation.

(111) Brown, op. cit., p. 83.

(112) Altekar, ' The History of the Rāshṭrakūṭas,' EHOD, p. 258 - 261

(113) Plate : VIII A.

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(114) Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit., Plate: LXXI, fig. 2.

(115) Plate: IX A.

(116) Ibid.

(117) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate : 227.

(118) Ibid., Plates : 128 - 131.

(119) Plate : VIII B.

(120) Supra, n. 109.

(121) Brown, op. cit., p. 85 ff.

(122) Ibid.

(123) Ibid.

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(124) Supra, ns. 119 -121.

(125) Supra, n. 121.

(126) Saraswati, ' Architecture,' CA, p. 491.

(127) Fredric, op. cit., p. 214.

(128) Cousens, op. cit., pp. 61- 66.

(129) From personal observation.

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(130) Brown, op. cit., pp. 75-82.;

M. Rama Rao, ' Early Cālukyan Architecture,' JIH, vol. XLI, pp. 431 -457.

(131) Ibid.

(132) Supra, pp. 225 -227.

(133) The Kadambas who preceded the Chālukyas in Karṇāṭaka are known to have erected stone-temples. (Moraes, op.cit., pp. 309 - 314.).

(134) Subrahmanyam, ' Some Aspects of Art and Architecture in the Deccan (upto 640 A. D.),' page;12 of the typed copy of this paper which was read at the Seminar on the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of the Deccan, held in Hyderabad, December, 1963.;

Indian Archaeology, 1956 - 57, p. 36.

(135) Moraes, op. cit., Plate: 26.

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(136) Ibid., pp. 309 - 310.

(137) Ibid., Plate : 2.

(138) Ibid., p. 310.

(139) Ibid., Plate : 27.

(140) Cousens, op. cit., Plates: XIX (1) and XXV.

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(141) Ibid., Plate : XIX (2).

(142) Supra, n. 135.

(143) Supra, n. 139.

(144) Supra, n. 140.

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(145) Cousens, ' The Ancient Temples of Aihole,' ASI, 1907 - 1908, pp. 190, 192 and 195 - 196.

(146) Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 79.

(147) Brown, op. cit., p. 60.

(148) Cousens, op. cit., pp. 32 -33.

(149) Ibid.

(150) From personal observation.

Banerji R. D., op. cit., Plate : XIII b.

(151) Plate: X.

(152) Plate: VI.

(153) From personal observation.

(154) Banerji, R. D., op. cit., p. 1.

(155) Supra, n.10.

This date for the construction of the Lāḍ Khān temple was arrived at after a detailed discussion with Shri Balasubrahmanyam, S.R., whose article, entitled ' The Date of the Lāḍ Khān (Sūrya - Nārāyaṇa) temple at Aihole,' is recently published in the tenth [illegible] number of the Lalit Kalā, pp. 41 - 45.

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(156) Cousens, op. cit., pp. 36 - 38.; Plates: XXI (3) and XXIII (1).

(157) Ibid., pp. 38 -40.

(158) Fredric, op. cit., Plate : 186.

(159) Brown, op. cit., Plate: XXXIX, fig.1.

(160) Ibid., Plate : XXXVIII, fig :2.

(161) Ibid., fig. 1.

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(162) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates: 429 , 432, 434 and 435.

(163) Brown, op. cit., Plate: XXXVII, fig.1.

(164) Supra, ns. 135 and 141.

(165) Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 97.

(166) Supra, n. 160.

(167) Supra, n. 77.

(168) Saraswati, art. et loc. cit.

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(169) Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 406 - 413.

(170) Cousens, op. cit.

(171) Brown, op. cit., pp. 73 ff.

(172) Panchamukhi, An outline of Karnātaka Sculpture, pp. 48 ff.

(173) Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 96.,
The learned scholar, however, uses the term Aryavārta, obviously a Sanskrit rendering of the term 'Indo-Aryan' coined by Fergusson.

(174) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate : 113.

(175) Ibid, Plate : 116.

(176) Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneśwar, fig. 26.

(177) Ibid., fig. 140.

(178) Ibid., pp. 26- 32.

(179) Ibid.

(180) Cousens, op. cit., Plate: XIV.

(181) Ibid., Plates:LII and L.

(182) M. Rama Rao, ' The Temples of Ālampur,'. JIH, vol. ~~XXXIX~~, pp. 369 - 391.

Page : 513.

(183) Panigrahi, op. cit., pp. 99 ff.

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(184) From personal observation.

(185) Brown, op. cit., pp. 80. ff.; Plate:XLV,fig.1.
Zimmer, op. cit., Plate: 303.

(186) Brown, op. cit., p. 82.;
Supra, n. 182.

(187) Brown, op. cit., p. 80.

(188) Ibid.

(189) Supra, n. 185.

(190) Brown, op. cit., p. 80.

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(191) L'Inde, Plates: 47-48, 51-52.

(192) Supra, n. 186.

(193) Ibid.

(194) The Pāpanātha and the Virūpāksha temples could not be far removed in time from one another - the difference being not more than 30 to 40 years - as the sculptors like Baladeva and Chengamma are known to have worked in both the temples. Since the Virūpāksha temple is considered to have been erected in about A. D. 740, the construction of the Pāpanātha may approximately be assigned to the first decade of the eighth century and not to about A.D. 680, as once supposed by Percy Brown (op. cit., p.79.).

(195) Cousens, op. cit., pp. 59- 70.

(196) M. Rama Rao, ' Early Cālukyan Architecture - A Review,' JIH, vol. XLI, pp. 431 -457.

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(197) Brown, op. cit., pp. 80-81., Plate:XLV, fig.2.

Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 304 - 307.

(198) Supra, pp. 338 - 339.

(199) Cousens, op. cit., pp. 61-66.

(200) Gangoly, O. C., The Art of the Pallavas, pp. 6, 20-21.

(201) Cousens, op. cit., Plate : 26.;

Stella Kramrisch, The Art of India, Plate: 57.

(202) Supra, n. 11.

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(203) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates: 266, 267, 270 and 294 - 295.

(204) Supra, n. 196.

(205) Brown, op. cit., Plate : LIII.

(206) Ibid.;

Supra, n. 196.

(207) Fleet, ' Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol.X, pp.164-165.

(208) Ibid., No. 99., pp. 162 - 164.

(209) Cousens, op. cit., p. 61.

(210) Panchamukhi, op. et loc. cit., p. 49.;

Mr. Annigeri also expresses similar opinion (op. cit., pp. 49 - 50.).

(211) Supra, n. 208.

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(212) Supra, n. 196.

(213) Supra, n. 169.

(214) Supra, n. 173.

(215) Supra, n. 170.

(216) Supra, n. 171.

(217) Supra, n. 196.

(218) Śrīkumāra, Śilparatna, Ch. XVI, vv. 50-53.

(219) Ibid.

(220) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate : 303.

(221) Ibid., Plate : 299.

(222) Cousens, op. cit., Plate : LII.

(223) Supra, n. 182.

(224) Supra, n. 201.

(225) Cousens, op. cit., Plate XXXII.

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(226) Brown, op. cit., Plates : CVIII, CIX, and CX, fig. 1.;

Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 428 to 435.

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(227) Altekar, ' The Vākāṭakas,' EHOD, p. 197.

(228) Ibid., pp. 174 -77.

(229) Ibid., p. 191.;

Supra, pp. 50 - 51.

(230) Moraes, op. cit., pp. 25 -27.

(231) Sircar, ' Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan,' pp. 97 ff and 215 ff.

(232) Fleet, CII, vol. III, No.1.

(233) Ramachandran, Nāgārjunikonda,(MASI,No.71), Plate : 10 A.;

Indian Archaeology - a Review, 1955 -56, Plate: XXXIX A, 1956-57, Plate:LVIIA.
And also from personal observation.

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(234) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate : 102.

(235) Supra, n. 233.

(236) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate : 105 c.

(237) Supra, n. 233.

(238) Saraswati, A Survey of Indian Sculpture, pp. 165 ff.,

Stella Kramrisch, op. cit.,p. 38.

(239) Moraes, op. cit., Plate : 41.

(240) Ibid.

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(241) Ibid., p. 315.

(242) Banerji, R. D., op. cit., Plate : II b.

(243) Ibid.

(244) From personal observation.,
Zimmer, op. cit., Plates: 80- 85.

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(245) Brown, op. cit., Plate : XXXVII.

(246) Supra, n. 155.

(247) Supra, n. 62.

(248) Supra, n. 63.

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(249) L'Inde, Plates: 39-41 and 44-52.

(250) Stell Kramrisch, op. et loc. cit.,
Plates : 73 - 75, 77.

(251) L'Inde, Plates: 47-48 and 51-52.

(252) Supra, n. 194.

(253) From personal observation.

(254) From personal observation.

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(255) Supra, n. 251.

(256) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates: 227 - 234.

(257) Ibid., Plates : 236 - 239.

(258) Gupte and Mahajana, op. cit., Plates:
CXLIV -CXLIX.

(259) From Personal observation.

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(260) Supra, n. 249.

(261) Ibid.

(262) Banerji, R. D., op. cit., Plates: IV a, b, c, d,; XII a, b. c, d; and XXII -XXV.

(263) L'Inde, Plates: 49-50 and also from Personal observation.

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(264) From personal observation.

(265) Ibid.

(266) Ibid.

(267) Ibid.

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(268) Gupte and Mahajana, op. cit.; Plates: LXV - LXVIII.

(269) Ibid., Plates: CXLVII - CXLIX.

(270) Quoted by Gopinath Rao in his Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. I, pt.I., (Introduction) p. 26.

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(271) From personal observation.

(272) Desai, ' Mudhol Plates of Pūgavarman,' EI, vol. XXXII, pp. 60-62.

(273) Ibid.

(274) Ibid.

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(275) Banerjea, J. N., The Developement of Hindu Iconography, p. 17.

(276) Ibid.;

Acharya, P. K., A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, p. 756.

(277) Gangoly, South Indian Bronzes.,p.6.

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(278) Banerjea, J. N., op. cit., p. 26.

(279) Fleet, 'Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,' IA, vol. X, p. 168.

(280) Ibid.

(281) Annigeri, ' A Guide to the Paṭṭadakal Temples,' pp. 11 and 42.

(282) Cousens, op. cit. p. 44.;

Panchamukhi, op. cit., p. 83.

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(283) From personal observation.

(284) Panchamukhi, 'The Historical Remains of Paṭṭadakal,' Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province, from 1941 to 1946, pp. 52 -62.

(285) L'Inde, Plate : 7.

(286) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate: 305.

(287) Banerji, R. D., op cit., Plate:III(b) and XVIII.

(288) L'Inde, Plate : 26.;

Zimmer, op. cit., Plate : 139.

(289) Cousens, op. cit., Plate : XXXIX.

(290) Ibid., Plate: XL.

(291) Ibid., p. 51.

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(292) Rao, Gopinath, op. cit., pp. 17- 21. and 23-25.

(293) Vaikhānasagama as quoted by Gopinath Rao, op. cit., vol.I, App. C. pp. 17-26.

(294) Ibid.

(295) Ibid, pp. 90-91, Plate: XXXIII.

(296) Ibid, pp.89-90, Plate : XXX.

(297) Banerji, R. D. op. cit., Plates: IX b, XVII b and XVIII a.

(298) L'Inde, Plate: IX.

(299) Cousens, op. cit., XLVII.

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(300) Banerji, R.D., op. cit., Plate: IX a and XVI.

(301) Boner, Alice, Principles of Composition in Hindu Sculpture - cave Temple Period., pp. XIV-XV.

(302) Ibid.

(303) Ibid.

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(304) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 33 a, b and c, 34 a and b.

(305) Ibid., Plates: 6-7 and 12-15.

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(306) Banerji, R. D., op. cit., XIX c.

(307) Ibid., Plate : XX c.

(308) Stella Kramrisch, op. et loc. cit., Plate:73.

(309) From personal observation.

(310) L'Inde, Plate : 4.

(311) Ibid., Plates : 5 -6.

(312) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 128 - 130.

(313) From personal observation.

(314) Annigeri, op. cit., p. 17 -18.

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(315). From personal observation.

(316) L'Inde, Plates: 45 and 46.

(317) Kālidāsa, Meghadūta, I, v.3.

(318) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 132 -134.

(319) From personal observation.

(320) L'Inde, Plate : 11.

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(321) Zimmer, op. cit., Plates : 299 and 304.

(322) Ibid., Plate : 136.

(323) Fredric, op. cit., Plate: 187.

(324) From personal observation.

(325) Banerji, R. D. op. cit., Plate : IX a.

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(326) From personal observation.

(327) Panigrahi, op. cit., pp. 121 -122.

(328) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate : 305.

(329) Banerji, R. D., op. cit., Plate : I b.

(330) L'Inde, Plates :- 31 -32.;
Zimmer, op. cit., Plate : 126.

(331) Fredric, op. cit., Plates: 199, 206 and 209.

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(332) Ibid., Plate : 141.

(333) Annigeri, op. cit., Plate : 3.

(334) Banerji, R. D., op. cit., Plate: I b.

(335) From personal observation.

(336) Supra, n. 284.

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(337) Annigeri, op. cit., p. 27.

(338) Ibid., p. 28.

(339) Zimmer, op. cit., Plate : 307.

(340) Fredric, op. cit., Plate : 106.

(341) Banerji, R. D. op. cit., Plate : I b.

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(342) Cousens, op. cit., Plate: XXXVI.

(343) Fredric, op. cit., Plate : 136.

(344) Yazadani, Ajantā, Plates : vol. I.

(345) Stella Kramrisch, ' Paintings at Bādāmi,' JISOA, vol. IV, pp. 57-62.

(346) Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 89.;
Ray, Nihar Ranjan, ' Painting and other Arts,' CA, pp. 537-547.

Page : 544.

(347) I got this information during the course in ' Museology,' at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

(348) Supra, n. 346.

(349) Ibid.

(350) Ray Nihar Ranjan, art.cit.

(351) Ibid.

(352) Supra, n. 343.;

Fredric's observation (op. cit., p. 147) that outlines in this fresco are drawn in lamp black is surely a mistake.

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Page : 545.

(353) From personal observation.

(354) From personal observation.

Page : 546.

(355) From personal observation.

(356) Sivaramamurti, ' Western Chālukya Paintings at Bādāmi,' LK, No.5, pp. 49-58 and Plates.

(357) Ibid.

(358) Coomaraswamy, op. cit.; p. 99.

Yazdani, Ajantā, vol. I, Plates: XXIV -XXVI, and XXXI - XXXII.

(359) Ray, Nihar Ranjan, art. cit.

Page : 547.

(360) Stella Kramrisch, ' Paintings at Bādāmi,' JISOA, vo. IV, pp. 57 ff.

(361) Supra, n. 356.

(362) Ray, Nihar Ranjan, art. cit.

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(363) Vātsyāyana, op. cit., Ch. IV, 10.

(364) Vijjakā, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

(365) Ibid, pp. 77- 78 and 80.

(366) Ibid., pp. 89.,

It may be noted in passing that material on which Kalyānavarman and Kīrtimati painted the portraits was a textile scroll. The paintings from Nepal and Orissa on this material have come down to us.

Page : 549.

(367) The Vishnudharmottaram, Part II, Ch. 41, vv. 1-15.
Translated by Stella Kramrisch in JDL, vol XI, pp. 1-59.

(368) Ibid.

(369) Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 87.; n. 12.

(370) Ibid., p. 88.

(371) Ibid.

(372) Supra, n. 367.

C H A P T E R IV

E P I G R A P H Y.

The inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, a majority of which are dated according to the current eras form a distinct group in South Indian Epigraphy. They furnish the earliest and uncontested instances of inscriptions bearing the dates according to the Śaka[1] Era. They also form an important stage in the evolution of the Brāhmī script into the script current in later times.

The script employed in the Chālukya epigraphs is a lineal descendant of the Western and the Southern varieties of the Aśokan[2] Brāhmī used in the edicts found at Girnār[3] and Sopārā[4] in the west and at Brahmagiri[5] and Siddhāpur (Mysore) in the south. The intermediary links between the Aśokan alphabet and the Chālukyan script are provided by the characters of the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas and Sātavāhanas[6] and the epigraphs of the Kadambas[7] who succeeded the latter and preceded the Chālukyas in the Karṇāṭaka region.

The elongated form of a letter in the

abovementioned varieties of the Aśokan script was an outcome of its horizontal limb being of half the size of its vertical portion.[8] The transformation from an elongated to the square-shaped characters took place during the Kshatrapa-Sātavāhana period.[9] This change was achieved by giving equal length to the horizontal and vertical limbs of a character. Thus for instance, while the Mauryan pa, used at Girnār[10] could be enclosed only in a rectangle, which would have its two longer parallel lines in a vertical position, i.e. , the same letter from an inscription of the Sātavāhana king Vāsiṭhiputa at Nāsik[11] could be encased in a square , as its vertical portion on the left is reduced to half of its length in the Aśokan edicts at Girnār and Sopārā. Apart from this apparent difference the body proper of several characters had also undergone changes, which could be seen in the chart attached to this chapter.[12]

Sometime during the fourth century of the Christian era, the Kadambas succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the sovereignity of Karṇāṭaka. The letters of the Kadamba epigraphs are essentially similar to their counter parts in the Sātavāhana

records.[13] But at the same time, in certain characteristics the script employed in the Kadamba inscriptions resembles the ornamental alphabet of the Sātavāhana and Ikshavāku records from Andhra Pradesh, the box-headed letters from the inscriptions of the contemporary Vākāṭaka rulers, with whom the Kadambas had contracted a metrimonial alliance,[14] and the Grantha alphabet of the records of the early Pallava kings, a royal family with which Mayurasarman, the progenitor of the Kadambas was closely connected.[15] The tubular forms of the lower limbs of the verticals of the letters ka, ra, and the sign of medial u in the Halsi Copper-plate grants of Kadamba Kākutsthavarman, Mṛigeśavarman[16] and Ravivarman are reminiscent of the ornamental script used in the inscriptions found at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa,[17] Amarāvati[18] and Jaggayyapeṭā.[19] But inscriptions from the Kūḍa caves in the Ratnagiri district bear testimony to the fact that these tubular forms were also known in the western parts of the Sātavāhana empire[20] and it is not unlikely that from here they found their way in the Kadamba inscriptions. The influence of the Vākāṭaka alphabet is distinct in boxes at the top of the

letter in the Tāḷagunḍa inscription of Kākuṭsthavarman[21] and the Halsi grant of Mṛigeśavarman.[22] However, unlike the hollow boxes of the Vākāṭaka records[23] the boxes in the Kadamba epigraphs are filled in[24] - a feature common to the Grantha alphabet employed in the land-grants[25] of the early Pallava kings Vijayabuddhavarman and Śivaskandavarman. Yet another point of semblance between the scripts of these Pallava records,[26] and the Kadamba inscriptions[27] is their use of looped la ೞ .

Thus it would appear that during the period of the Kadamba supremacy the script in this part of the country was passing through a transition. On the one hand it was trying to accept and assimilate certain peculiarities of the earlier and contemporary scripts current in various parts of the Southern Peninsula, while on the other hand, in its use of a rather far advanced signs of a and ra in the grant of Mṛigeśavarman,[28] the Kadamba script proving as it were its transitional nature, pointed to possibilities of its future development.

The letters of the early Chālukya inscriptions upto the time of Pulakeśin II remain very similar to those of the Kadamba inscriptions.[29]

Thus for instance, the characters of the Bādāmi cliff inscription of Pulakesin I,[30] the Mudhol grant of his eldest son Pūgavarman,[31] the Godachi and Bādāmi cave epigraphs of Kīrtivarman I,[32] the Nerūr plates of Mangaleśa,[33] and finally the Aihole prasasti of Pulakesin II,[34] resemble the script employed in the Halsi grant of Kadamba Harivarman[35] and the Benahalli plates of the latter's cousin Krishnavarman.[36]

II.

But as Dr. Bühler has rightly observed,[37] ' In the grants of the last Kadamba king Harivarman and in those of the Chalukyas between A. D. 578 and 660, the a, a, ka and ra characteristic of the next stage of development, occur not rarely, but never constantly.' An instance is provided by the appearance of a later closed ka ಕ್ , though only once, in the Bādāmi cave inscription of Kīrtivarman I.[38] This form does not appear in the Nerūr plates of Mangaleśa,[39] nor can it be found in the Hyderābād,[40] Lohaner[41] and Aihole[42] records of Pulakesin II. It is, however, significant that the latter epigraph occasionally uses the later a.[43] Again to quote the same authority, ' this vacillation indicates that between A. D. 578 and 600, and perhaps even

earlier, the rounded forms of the middle Kanarese alphabet existed, but that they either had not completely displaced the older ones, or that they were not yet considered as really suitable for inscriptions, though the clerks occasionally introduced them by misake into official documents.'[44]

Turning to the script of the Chālukya epigraphs after A. D. 655 we notice a definite change in the forms of letters -- namely a pronounced tendency towards giving a roundish shape to each of them.[45] A glance at this group of epigraphs,[46] which includes the records of the Chālukya monarchs after Vikramāditya I, at once reveals that each of them owed its shape to a swift unholted hand-movement on the part of a writer. The importance of the Chālukya inscriptions lies in this fact that it marks the beginning of a tendency of which the present Kanarese alphabet is the ultimate development.

The Chālukya copper-plates during the period mostly show a peculiar slant towards the right,[47] while the stone-epigraphs reveal the use of upright, carefully made letters, which especially

in the ligatures are abnormally large.[48] The characters of these copper-charters once again revert to an elongated shape, but unlike their[49] elongated Aśokan ancestors, they are slimmer on account of their horizontal limbs being of less than half the length of their vertical portions. Secondly, during this period the above mentioned advanced forms of e, ā, ka and ra become constant.[50]

A solitary instance of the employment of the early form of the Nāgarī script is met with in the biscriptal Pattadakal pillar inscription of Kīrtivarman II,[51] the characters of which are intermediate in type between those of the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of A. D. 517[52] and those of the Sāmāngad charter of Dantidurga inscribed during the second half of the eighth century.[53] The Nāgari letters of this Paṭṭadakal inscription, however,[54] approximate more closely to the alphabet employed in the Bodh-Gayā inscription[55] than to those of Dantidurga's epigraph.[56] Thus for instance, the letters ma, pa, sa, and ya follow the Bodh-Gayā inscription in not having fully developed horizontal lines (शिरोरेखा[57]) on their heads,

which is a striking feature of Dantidurga's record.[58] Again, like their predecessors of the Bodh-Gayā epigraph,[59] the letters ka, pa and va of Kīrtivarman II's record[60] have pointed forms. Further, the initial letter a in the Paṭṭadakal inscription[61] has a form similar to that of the Bodh-Gayā[62] a, while the very same letter in the Sāmāngad grant[63] is of distinctly different shape. Since the authenticity of the Sāmāngad plates is not unquestioned,[64] the Chālukya record under consideration is the earliest Nāgarī record so far discovered in the Karṇāṭaka region. Curiously enough, in the Kairā plates of Dadda II[65] (6th Nov. 629) inscribed almost a century before the Nāgarī inscription of Kīrtivarman, we find the royal autograph in the Nāgarī script current in North India, though the rest of the text is written in what is termed by Bühler as the Western variety of the Southern alphabets.

The letters known as the shell-characters,[66] so designated on account of the shape of the shell assumed by each letter, are used in the painted inscription in the cave No.3 at Bādāmi[67] and the Sidalpāḍi cave,[68] both belonging to the Chālukya period.

A majority of the Chālukya inscriptions are written in Sanskrit which had become the court-language all over India since the Gupta period. The copper-plate grants of the Chālukya rulers are exclusively in Sanskrit. While the occurrence of orthographical errors is not uncommon, instances of the employment of pure and faultless classical Sanskrit are also not wanting, the Bādāmi cliff inscription of Pulakeśin I, the very first known record of this house, being couched in chaste Sanskrit.[69] Kielhorn[70] and Sivaramamurti[71] have already shewn with copious examples that some of the composers of the Chālukya records were men of learning, using idioms and expressions of poets of eminence like Vālmiki, Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, to great advantage. Thus we have an entire verse from the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa in the Mahākūṭa record of Maṅgaleśa.[72] Ravikīrti, the poet-composer of the Aihole praśasti, who compares himself with Kālidāsa and Bhāravi appears to have followed the pattern of digvijayayātrā of king Raghu described by Kālidāsa, in narrating the exploits of his patron Pulakeśin II.[73]

Some of the lithic epigraphs of the

Chālukyas written in archaic Kannada and early Telugu mark an important stage in the history of these two vernaculars. The earliest traces of the use of Kannada words in the Chālukya inscriptions are found in Godachi grant of Kīrtivarman I,[74] where the monarch bears the Kanarese name, Kaṭṭi-arasa meaning ' a sword-king.' The word ' toṭṭa ' in the compound expression sa-toṭṭam in the same epigraph is glaringly Kannada.[75] The short inscription of Maṅgaleśa outside the third cave at Bādāmi is the earliest Chālukya epigraph written entirely in Kannada.[76] According to the Bādāmi inscription of Vijayāditya, issued in his second regnal year, this language was then known by as Prākṛita-bhāshā.[77]

The Chālukya epigraphs written in Telugu and in the combination of Telugu and Sanskrit come from the present Andhra Pradesh. The Tippalūru inscription ascribed to Vikramāditya I (A. D. 655-681) is written entirely in Telugu,[78] while the Koṭṭūru record of his grandson Vijayāditya is a bilingual epigraph written in Sanskrit and early Telugu.[79]

In Ancient India birch-bark (Bhurjapatra), palm-leaves (tāḍapatra), silk and cotton cloth, leather, ivory, and wood were used as writing

material along with stone and metal.[80] Naturally enough, considering the perishable nature of the former classes of material and the climatary conditions of the Southern Peninsula, there are hardly any vestiges of writing executed thereon, and documents on stone and metal alone have escaped the ravages of time. Eulogy of Kings, religious edicts and legal documents were generally engraved on durable material like stone, copper and iron. Of documents of this nature belonging to the Chālukyas, nearly a hundred have so far been found;[81] of these nearly fifty are lithic records,[82] the rest being copper-plate charters.

The lithic records of the Chālukyas are found engraved on rocks, caves, pillars, temple-walls, sculptures, tanks, bunds, wells and loose tablets. The Bādāmi cliff inscription of Pulakesin I[83] and the Yekkeri epigraph[84] of the second ruler of the same name are examples of inscriptions inscribed on the rocks, while Kīrtivarman I's inscription of Saka 500 incised on a pilaster in the third cave at Bādāmi[85] and Mangalesa's donative record on the outer wall of the same cave[86] are the two specimens of the cave inscriptions of the Chālukyas. The most outstanding examples of their pillar records are

at Mahākūṭa[87] and Paṭṭadakal.[88] The former is a red-sandstone monolithic pillar which originally stood before the courtyard enclosing the group of temples called the Mahākūṭeśvara group after the principal temple.[89] The inscription is incised on the lower part of the pillar and describes the pillar as dharma-jayastambha,[90] i.e. ' the column of victory of religion.'[91] Kīrtivarman II's pillar at Paṭṭadakal is also a monolithic column of red-sandstone and bears his biscriptal record in Old-Kanarese and Nāgarī, inscribed in S. S. 677 or A. D. 755. The pillar, however, is now called ' Lakshmi-khamba ' or the pillar of the goddess Lakshmī and is worshipped as such.[92] True to what is stated in the text of the record the pillar carries a trident, a symbol of Śiva.[93] The outstanding examples of temples having records of the Chālukyas are the Durgā[94] and Meguti[95] temples at Aihole, the Baṭṭerappa[96] and the Jambuliṅga[97] temples at Bādāmi and the Lokeśvara[98] and the Saṅgameśvara[99] temples at Paṭṭadakal. Further, the sculptures representing some of the charcters of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, which adorn the outer walls of the some of the temples at Paṭṭadakal, are accompanied by inscribed labels.[100] An inscription of Vikramāditya at Devagiri is engraved on a stone on

a tank-bund,[101] while the Bannikop inscription of Vijayāditya[102] and the Annigeri record of Kīrtivarman II[103] are written on loose stone tablets, which may or may not have formed a part of some structural edifice.

As important as, if not more important than, the above category of documents are hero-stone inscriptions, called the viragals, which are a peculiarity of Karnāṭaka region. These are commemorative tablets engraved in memory of the heros who fell in some battle. Important examples of such herostones are the Hire-Madhure[104] and Kāleśvara[105] viragals of the time of Vikramāditya II.

Copper was the only metal which appears to have found favour with the Chālukyas. The charters which they executed on this metal contain title-deeds for the land which they conferred on Vedic scholars and religious institutions of various faiths. These title deeds were ceremoniously handed over to the donees, who kept them carefully to establish their right to the gift-land or other property.[106]

Copper-plate inscriptions were prepared either by casting in a mould of sand or by hammering.[107] The copper-plate records of the Chālukyas were invariably prepared by hammering.[108]

Usually a Chālukya copper-plate grant consists of three sheets of copper, but sets consisting of less or more than three sheets are also found.[109] The Mudhol charter of Pūgavarman and the Nerūr grant of Pulakeśin II[110] comprise only two sheets of copper. On the other hand, the Amudālāpadu grant of Vikramāditya has four plates,[111] while the Vakkalēri grant of Kīrtivarman II[112] comprises of five copper-plates.

These plates vary considerably in size. The smallest and the earliest of the copper-plate charters of the Chālukyas is the Mudhol grant of Pūgavarman[113] measuring 5-3/4" in length and 2-1/16" in breadth. A careful investigation of the size of the various copper-plate grants reveals the gradual increase in the size of the plates. In the times of Pulakeśin II the size of his copper-plates varies between 7" - 8" in length and 3" - 4" in breadth.[114] The copper-plates of his son Vikramāditya I show an increase of an inch in length and breadth of the plates.[115] During the reign of Kīrtivarman II, the last known ruler of the family, they measure 9-1/2" in length and 4-1/2" in breadth.[116]

The length of the original draft of an inscription determined the size and number of copper-plates in an inscription. Thus, for instance, the long list of the names of the donees occupies half of the inscribed space, i.e. a little more than 2-1/2 of the total six written sides in the Amudālapādu plates of Vikramāditya I.[117] In the Shiggāon plates of Vijayāditya, on the other hand, the detailed description of the boundaries of the donated land runs on the three out of the seven inscribed sides,[118] while the genealogical account of the Chālukya family, chronicling the outstanding achievements of eight monarchs from Pulakesin I to Kīrtivarman II, the donor of the charter, covers 6-1/2 sides of the total of eight inscribed sides of the Vakkalēri grant.[119]

In order to protect the writing the rims of the plates were usually thickened and slightly raised,[120] and the first side of the first plate and the second side of the last plate were left blank.[121] A hole was made on the proper right side of the plates and a ring was passed through this hole. The ring corresponds to the threads which keeps the palm leaves of a manuscript together,

and it makes of many copper-plates a small volume, which can be opened quite conveniently. The two ends of a ring were riveted or welded together and a seal was cast over them. Besides being an evidence of royal authentication, the seal attached to a charter provided a safeguard against any attempt at forging additions or substitutes to the original epigraph, since the original plates could not be separated without removing the seal, the manufacture of which was an official monopoly.[122]

The seals of the Bādāmi Chālukyas are either circular or oval in shape. They were prepared by the method of casting and the figure of Varāha, the emblem of the Chālukyas, was raised on a counter-sunk surface, facing the proper left or the proper right.[123] Generally their seals carry no legend on them. To this, however, the seals of their governors and feudatories form important exceptions. Thus for instance, the seal of the Sātārā grant of Yuvarāja Vishṇuvardhana[124] has the moon on the top, in the centre a legend Śrī Bittarasa, i.e. the illustrious prince Bitta or Bitti, and at the bottom a boar, squatting on its haunches. The Kochrēm grant of Vijayamahādevī, the queen of Chandrāditya, has the

seal bearing the representations of the sun and the moon at the top, the legend Śrī Chandrāditya[125] in the centre and a lotus flower at the bottom.[126] The seals of the grants of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, and his sons Śrayāśraya Silāditya[127] and Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin[128] bear the legends Śrī Dharāśraya, Śrayāśraya and Śrī-Avanijanāśraya respectively. In like manner the seals of the Sendraka and Gurjara feudatories of the Chālukyas carry the name of the donor of the grant, the legend Śrī-Allaśakti on the seal of the Kasare plates of Sendraka Allaśakti,[129] and the legend Sāmanta-Dadda figuring on the seals of the two Kairā charters[130] of Gurjara chief Dadda II. In addition to this legend Gurjara seals also carry a representation of what has come to be known as a symbol of sun worship.[131] These illustrations would show that the viceroys of the Chālukyas, while they owed their appointments to the Imperial sovereign, were allowed the privilege of making grants of land on their own initiative, and affix their own seals to the charters.

Kautilya[132] devotes a whole chapter, Chapter tenth of second part of his Arthaśāstra, to the procedure of issuing royal writs, while

Yājñavalkya has given elaborate instructions[133] as to how a land grant is to be drafted. According to the latter authority, ' Having given a plot of land or made a permanent endowment, the king should cause a record to be prepared for the information of the future good kings. The king should further cause a permanent writ to be made on a piece of cloth or copper-plate impressed with his seal and autograph and containing his genealogy, personal eulogy, the name of the donee, the quantity of the gift, the boundaries of the plot and the date of the deed.'[134]

It would presently be seen that the Chālukya land-grants, though slightly different, adhere to almost all the principles laid down by Yājñavalkya except for the royal autograph.

The draft of a Chālukyan copper-plate follows a uniform pattern, with a limited scope for modifications within this frame-work. It generally commences with an invocation to lord Vishnu in his boar form, who, incidentally in the Mudhol charter[135] of Pūgavarman, is invoked by the name Vārāhideva, i.e. Lord of the Goddess Vārāhi. However, exceptions to this rule are provided by

the invocations to Lord Jina in the Aihole prasasti[136] and to Hara-Gaurī Saṅgama, i.e. ' the union of Śiva and Pārvatī,'[137] in the Pattadakal inscription of Kīrtivarman II. The preamble or the commencing portion of the earlier grants like the aforementioned Mudhol charter,[138] the Godachi grant of Kīrtivarman I[139] and the Nerūr plates of Maṅgaleśa,[140] is concise and strikingly informal as against the lengthy and formal preamble of the Hyderābād grant of Pulakeśin II,[141] which was incorporated at times with a few verbal changes, into all the later copper-plate records of the family.

This is followed by a genealogical account of the donor whose achivements are chronicled at great length in flowery language. Mention is then made of the name of the place from where the grant was issued, the name of the ājñāpti, if any, and finally, the date or occasion on which the donation was made.

A word may here be said about the Chālukyan system of dating inscriptions, both lithic records and copper-plate grants, which have offered a sheet anchor for South Indian chronology from the

middle of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century. The extent of the aid furnished by the Chālukya records would be appreciated when it is borne in mind that the chronology of the contemporary Pallava rulers is established mainly with reference to the records of Chālukya kings, which supply definite dates. Most of the Chālukya inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era, the Bādāmi cliff inscription[142] of Pulakeśin I of Śaka 465 being the earliest instance of a record specifically mentioning this era by name. Along with the Śaka year the Chālukya inscriptions also mention the regnal year of the donor king. But, the Mahākūṭa inscription[143] of Maṅgaleśa is dated in the Saṁvatsara or a sixty years' cycle, while the Aihole Praśasti[144] of Pulakeśin II, mentions in addition to the Śaka Year the Kaliyuga year also, placing the placement of the latter era in B. C. 3102. There are, however, a few records[145] which mention only the astronomical phenomena like the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon, and the Winter and the Summer soltices.

The date is followed by particulars regarding the recipient of the gift, which include the name of the donee, sometimes his ancestry upto

three generations, the branch of study in which he has specialized, his gotra and his domicile. This is followed by the details of the donation, mentioning boundaries in case of a land grant. The concluding portion of the grant carries benedictory and impercatory verses,[146] and the last line of the charter mentions the name of the officer who drew up the text of the grant, who was usually a great minister of peace and war, ' Mahāsandhivigrahika,' in the case of the Chālukya copper-plate records. Sometimes as is the case with the Karnūl grant of[147] Vikramāditya I, the name of the engraver is also recorded.

N O T E S.

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(1) Panchamukhi, ' Bādāmi Inscription of Chalikya Vallabheśvara, Śaka 465, EI, vol. XXVII, pp. 4-9.;

Digest of Annual Report on Kannada Research in Bombay Province for the year 1940 - 41, pp. 6- 9.

(2) Hultzsch, CII, vol, I, Plates facing Pages 4 and 10.;

Ojha, G. H., Bhāratiya Prāchīna Lipimālā, Chart : 1.

(3) From personal observation.
A part of the Sopārā edict is now exhibited in the Epigraphical Gallery of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.;

Sircar, ' Sopārā fragment of Rock Edict IX of Aśoka,'
EI, vol. XXXII, pp. 29-30 Plate.;

Also see Chart, A at the end of this chapter.

(4) From personal observation.

The estampage of this edict was studied at the School of Indian Palaeography, Dharwar.

(5) Hultzsch, op. cit., Plates facing pages 178 - 179.;

Bühler, Indian Palaeography, Plate : II, Nos. XI-XII.

(6) Senart, ' The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nāsika,'
EI, vol. VIII, pp. 59-80.;

Bühler, op.cit., Plate: III, Nos. VI to XIII.;

Ojha, op. cit., Charts : 7, 8 and 9.;

Also see Chart, B at the end of this chapter.

(7) Plates attached to Fleet's ' Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions', IA, vol VI Nos. XX to XXVI.

Bühler, op. cit., Plate : VII, Nos. XII-XIII.;

Ojha, op. cit., Chart : 44.;

Also see Chart, C at the end of this chapter.

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(8) Supra, ns. 2, 3, 4 and 5.

(9) Supra, n. 6.

(10) Supra, n. 2.

(11) Supra, n. 6.

(12) Chart, B.

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(13) Supra, ns. 6 and 7.

(14) Moraes, op. cit., pp. 26 -27.

(15) Ibid., pp. 15 -17.

(16) Supra, n. 7.

(17) Vogel, ' Prākrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nagarjunikonda,' EI, vol. XX, pp. 1 ff Plates.;

' Additional Prākrit Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda,' EI, vol. XXI, pp. 61 ff Plates.

(18) Ojha, op. cit., Chart : 12.

(19) Ibid.;

Bühler, op. cit., Plate: III, Nos.XVII-XVIII.

(20) Bühler, op. cit., Plate: III, Nos.XV-XVI.

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(21) Kielhorn, 'Tālagunda Pillar Inscription of Kākutsthavarman,' EI, vol.VIII, pp. 24 ff.

(22) Supra, n. 7.

(23) Ojha, op. cit., Charts: 41 -42.;

Buhler, op. cit., Plate : VII, No.11.

(24) Bühler, op. cit., Plate: VII, No.13.

(25) Bühler, 'A Prākrit Grant of Pallava king Śivaskandavarman,' EI, vol. I, pp. 5 ff . Plates;

Bühler, op. cit., Plate: III.Nos, XIX-XX.

(26) Bühler, op. cit., No. XX, Letter 33.

(27) Ibid., Plate : VII, No.13, Letter 34.

(28) Fleet, ' Kadamba Grant of Mṛigeśa,' IA, vol. VI, pp. 24-25. Plates.

(29) Supra, n. 7.;

Infra, ns. 30, 31, 32, 33 and 34.

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(30) Supra, Frontispiece.

(31) Desai, 'Mudhol Plates of Pūgavarman,' EI, Vol. XXXII, pp. 293 - 298. Plates.

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(97) Supra, n. 77.

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(124) Fleet, ' Sātāra Plates of Vishnuvardhana,' IA, vol. XIX, pp. 309 ff.

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Dattvā Bhumiṁ nibandhaṁ vā kritvā lekhyam tu kārayet (I)
Āgāmibhadranṛipatiparijñānāya pārthivaḥ (II)
Paṭe vā tāmrapaṭe vā svamudroparichihnitam (I)
Abhilekhyā'tmano vaṁśyān atmānam ca mahipatiḥ (II)
Pratigrahaparimanam dānacchedopavarna (I)
Svahastakalasampannam śāsanam kuryet sthiram (II)

(134) Ibid.

(135) Supra, n. 31.

Page : 591.

(136) Supra, n. 34.

(137) Supra, n. 51.

(138) Supra, n.31.

(139) Supra, n. 32.

(140) Supra, n. 33.

(141) Supra, n. 40.

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(142) Supra, n. 1.

(143) Supra, n. 72.

(144) Supra, n. 34.

(145) Supra, n. 51.

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PALAEOGRAPHY CHARTS.

Chart

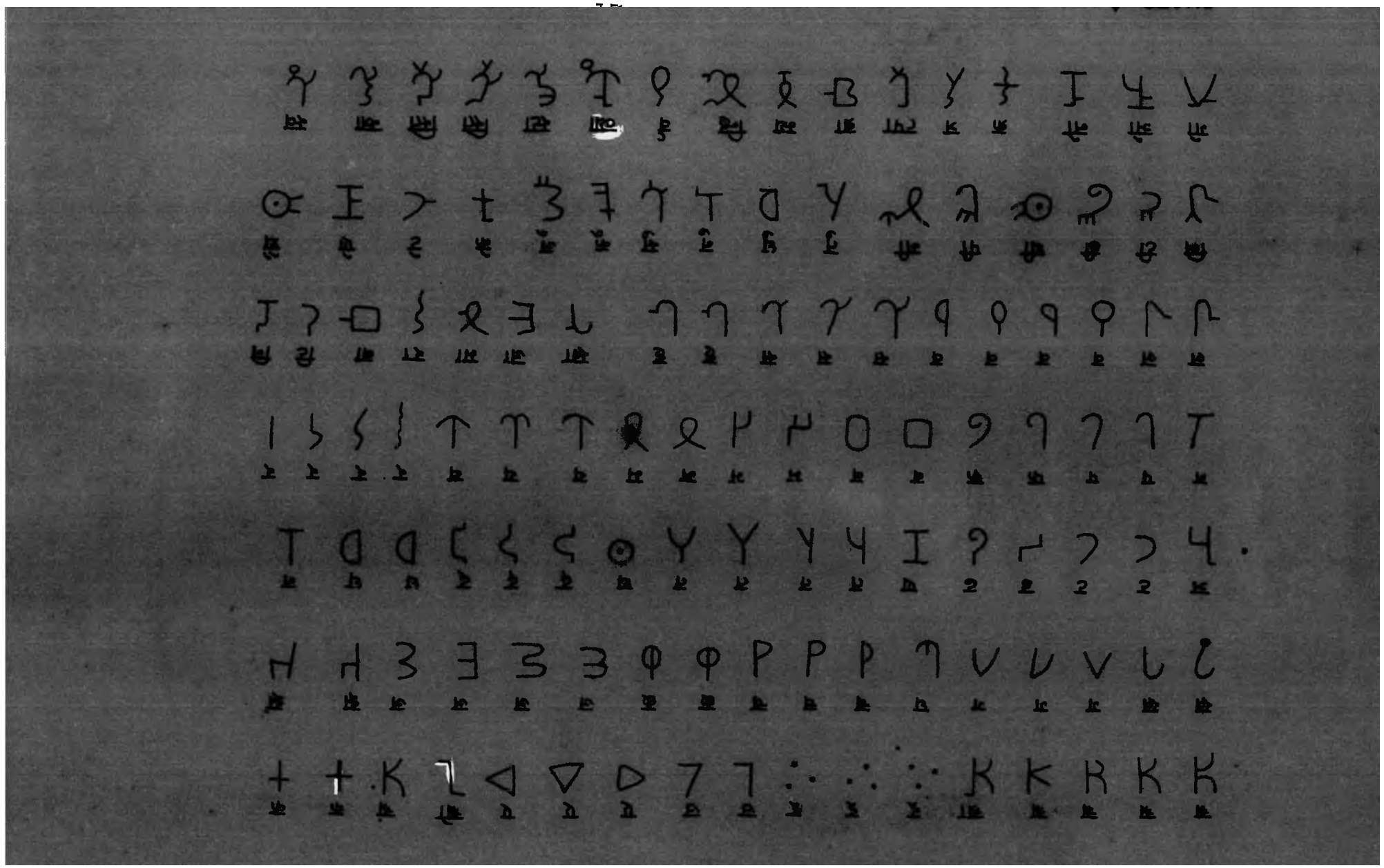
(A) Script employed in the Girnar edict of Asoka.

(B) Script employed in the Kshatrapa and the Satavahana records at Girnar and Nasik.

(C) Script employed in the epigraphs of the Kadambas of Banavasi.

(D) Script employed in the Chalukya epigraphs, the first phase (c.A. D. 530 - 650).

(E) Script employed in the Chalukya epigraphs, the second phase (A. D. 650 - 770).



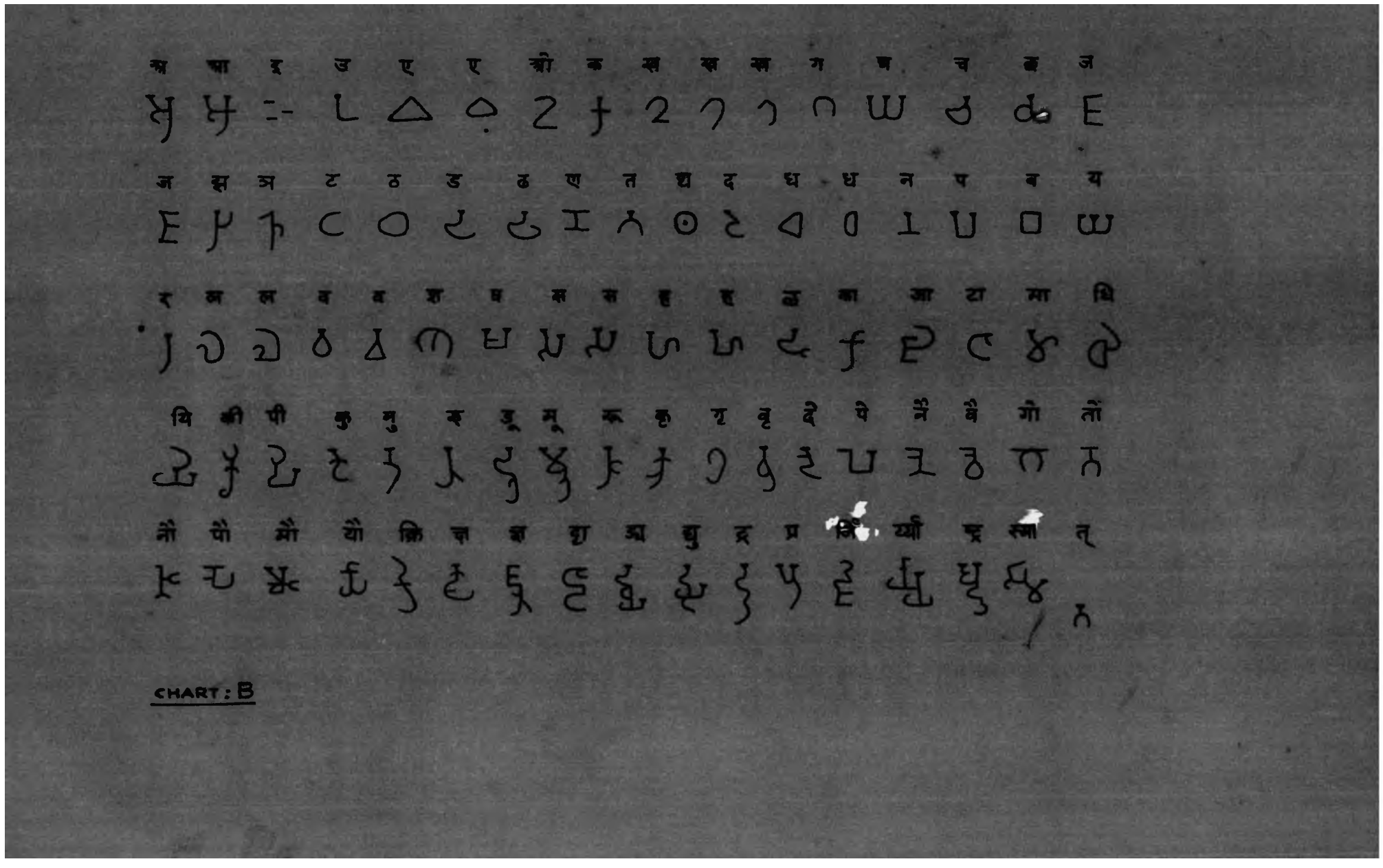
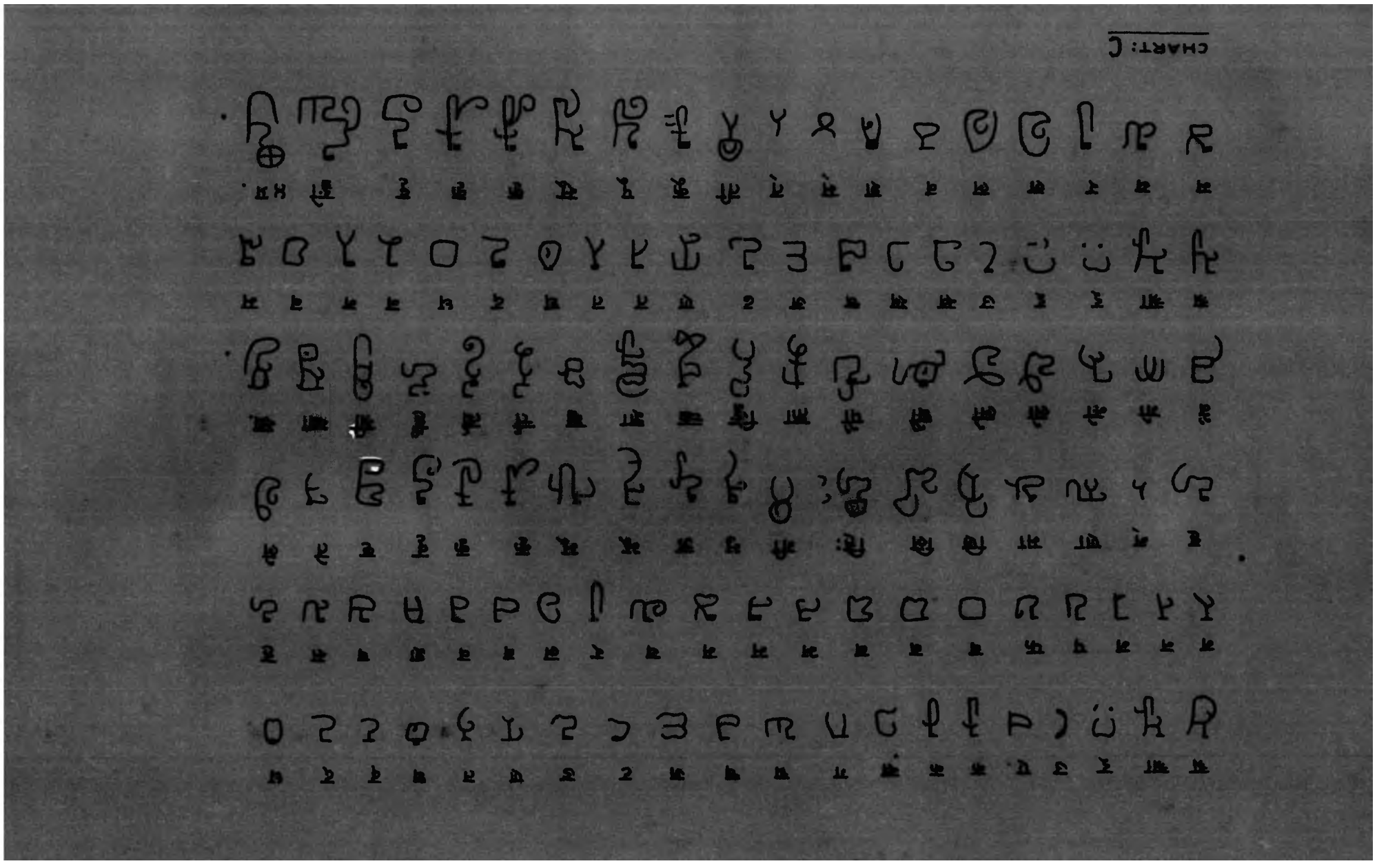

अ आ इ उ ए ए ओ क ख ख ख ग घ च छ ज
ज झ ञ ट ठ ड ढ ण त थ द ध ध न प ब य
र ल ल व व श ष स स ह ह ळ का जा टा मा धि
यि की पी कु नु रु डू मू रू कृ गृ वृ दे पे नै वै गो तो
नौ पौ मौ यौ क्रि क्ष ज्ञ दृ ञ्च द्यु द्र प्र जि र्य्या ष्ट्र स्मा त्
CHART : B

CHART: C



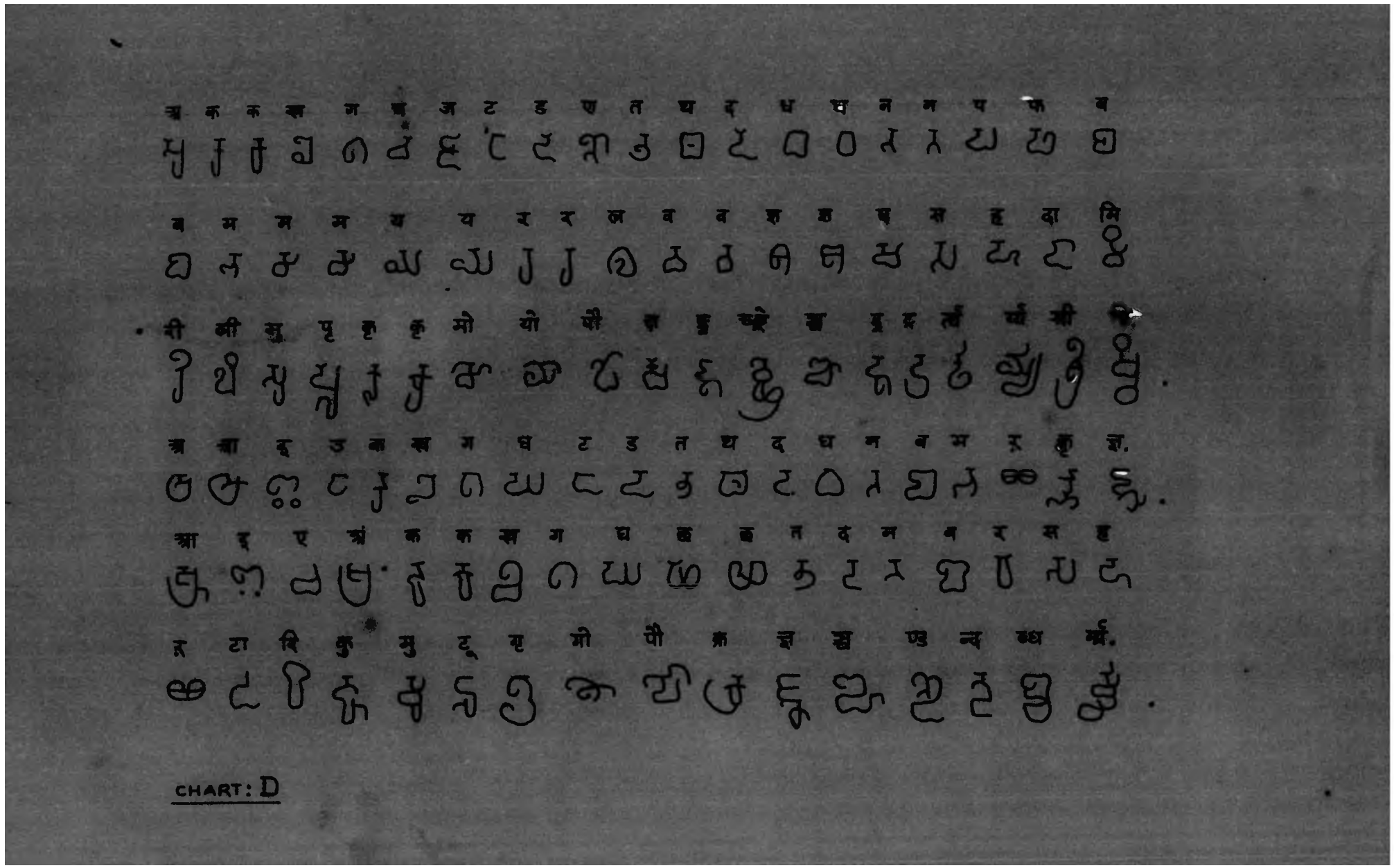
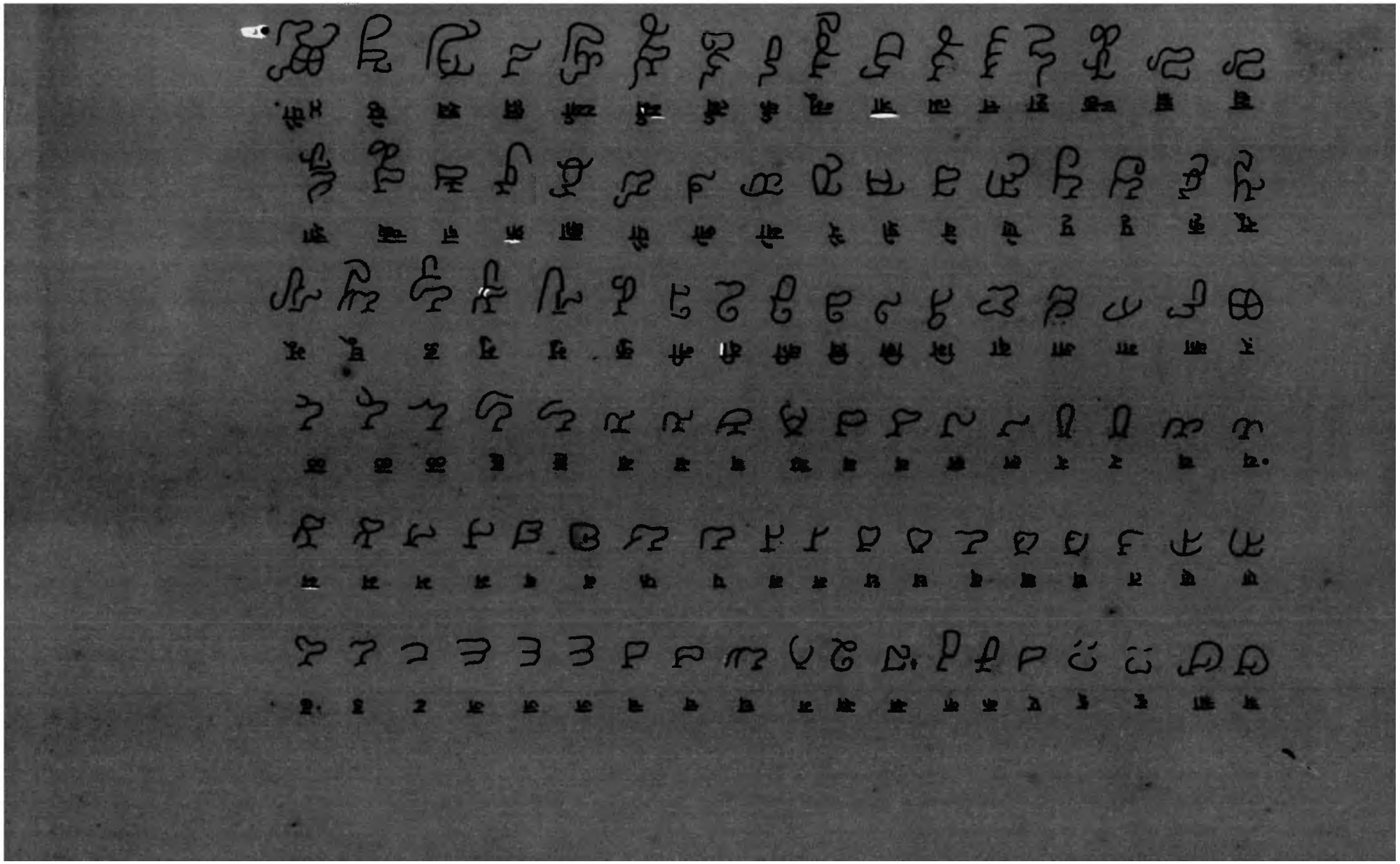


CHART: D



CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It is clear from the critical study of the various sources in the foregoing pages that the Bādāmi house of the Chālukyas played a dominant part in the political and cultural history of the Dakshiṇāpatha from the middle of the sixth till the third quarter of the eighth century.

The almost simultaneous decline of the Vākāṭakas in the Central Deccan and the Kadambas in the south-western part of the Southern Peninsula facilitated the rise of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi as an imperial power.

During the period of their rule no northern power could expect to extend its boundaries in the Deccan. The imperialistic ambitions of the Mauryas, the Kalachuris, the Pushpabhūtis, the Maitrakas and the Arabs were definitely checked. While on the one hand these triumphs are an eloquent testimony to the superior military might of the Chālukya armed forces, the sterling qualities of whose veterans earned them a tribute from the

Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, on the other the defeat of these northern powers was of incalculable value for the preservation and the development of the culture of the Deccan. For by stemming the tide of their aggression the Chālukyas saved the country south of the Vindhyas from being overrun by the powerful northern influences and thereby enabled them to follow their own independent line of development. This, however, did not mean a complete lack of contact with northern India. The Chālukyas are known to have endowed a Buddhist monastery near Bodh-Gayā - a fact attested by the Chinese pilgrim Hwuin-Lin in the seventh century - and a priest from the north, resident of the Mṛigathanikāhāra-vishaya situated on the northern bank of the Ganges, is known to have been attached to the Saṅgameśvara temple, erected under the patronage of Chālukya Vijayāditya.

The aggressive policy followed by the rulers of this house brought them into a prolonged conflict with the Pallavas of Kāñchī, who were their chief political rivals in South India.

In the midst of all these military engagements, however, the Chālukyas found time to

patronize art, literature and institutions belonging to various religious faiths. The movement of bhakti worship which had started under the earlier Kadamba regime received a fresh impetus under the Chālukyas.

The Chālukyan architects devoted special attention to ' the House of God,' देवगृहं as the temple is described in the inscriptions of this period, and its well-known features were evolved during the Chālukyan age. A comparative study of their monuments at Bādāmi, Aihoḷe, Paṭṭadakal, Mahākūṭeśvara, Ālampur and Satyavoḷū with those of the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Pallavas of Kāñchī and Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālakheda brings to light a fascinating process of experimentation in the growth and development of the art of temple-building tried during this period. The statuary in these temples marks the emergence of Chālukya idiom, which was the result of the synthesis effected between the eastern and western schools of Sātavāhana sculpture. The art of mural painting reached its highest watermark in the frescoes decorating the third cave at Bādāmi.

True, Sanskrit remained the language

of the Court but two vernaculars, Kannada and Telugu, were given due encouragement under the Chālukya patronage. Thus the era of Chālukya hegemony marks a definite landmark in the growth of culture and civilization of the Dakshiṇāpatha.

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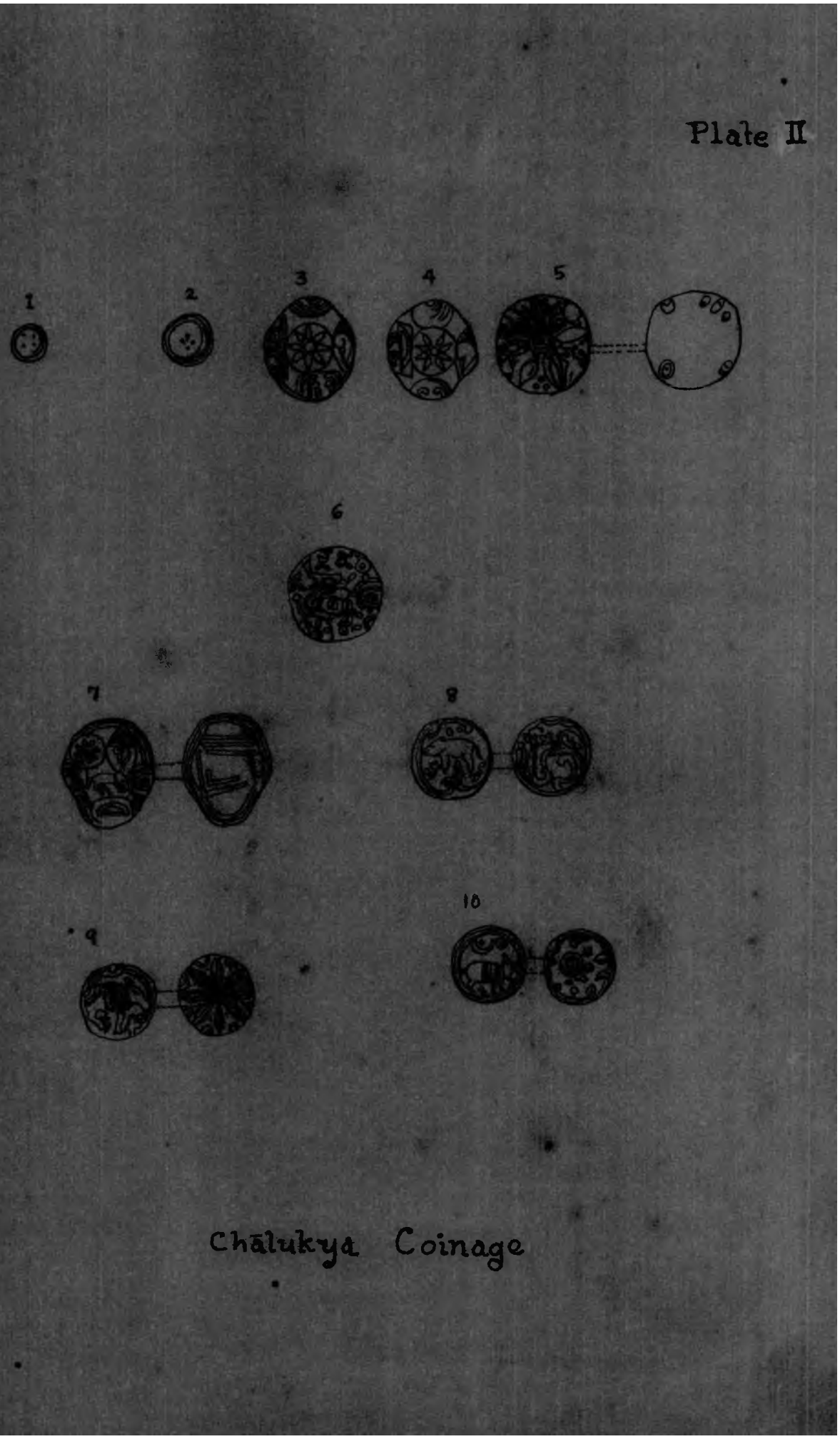
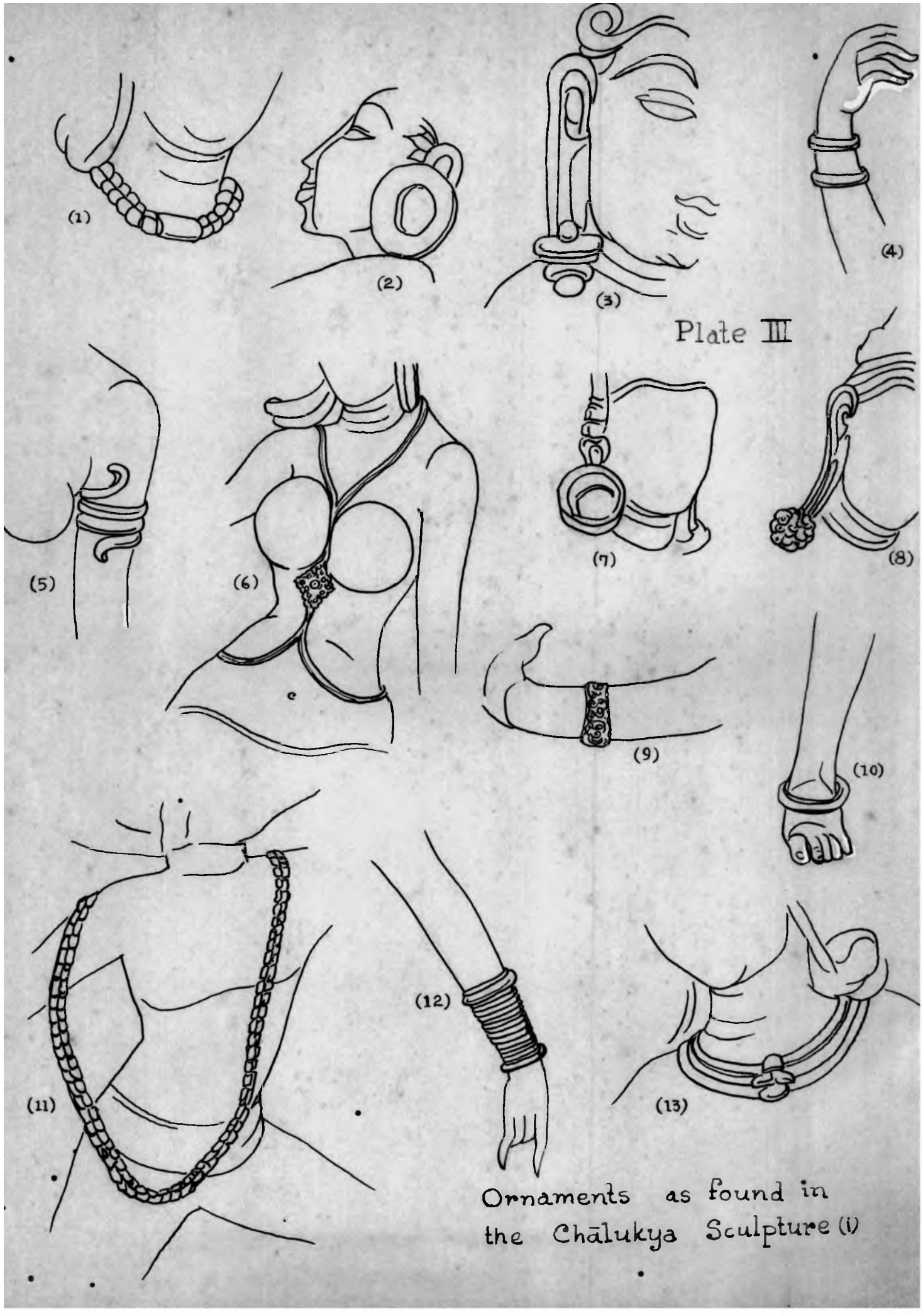
Plate II



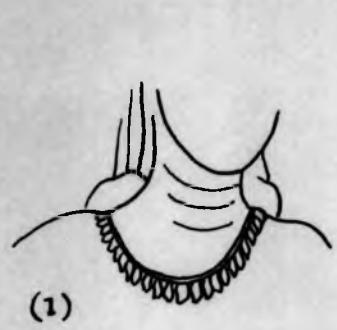
Chālukya Coinage

Plate III



Ornaments as found in the Chālukya Sculpture (i)

Plate IV.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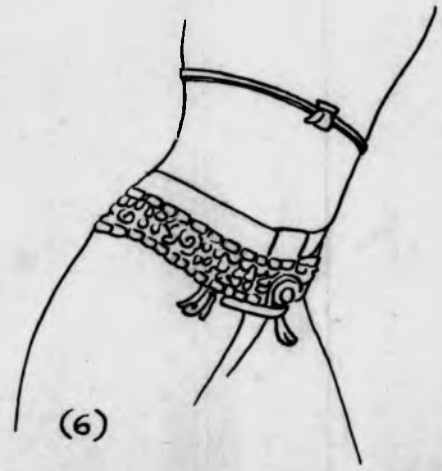
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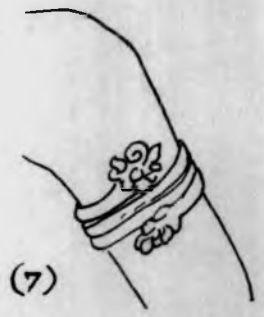
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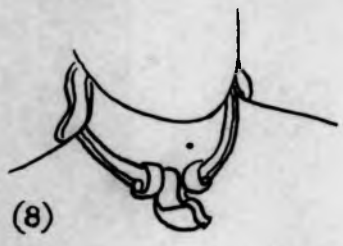
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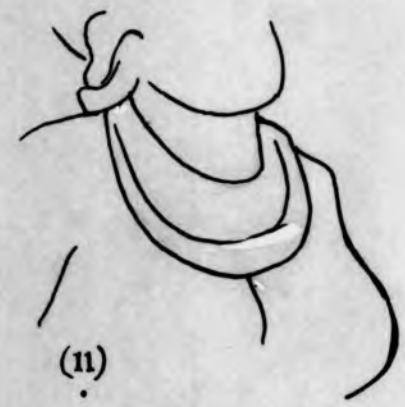
(11)

(12)

(13)

Ornaments as found in the Chālukya Sculpture (ii)

Plate V

Coiffures as found in the

Chālukya Sculpture →

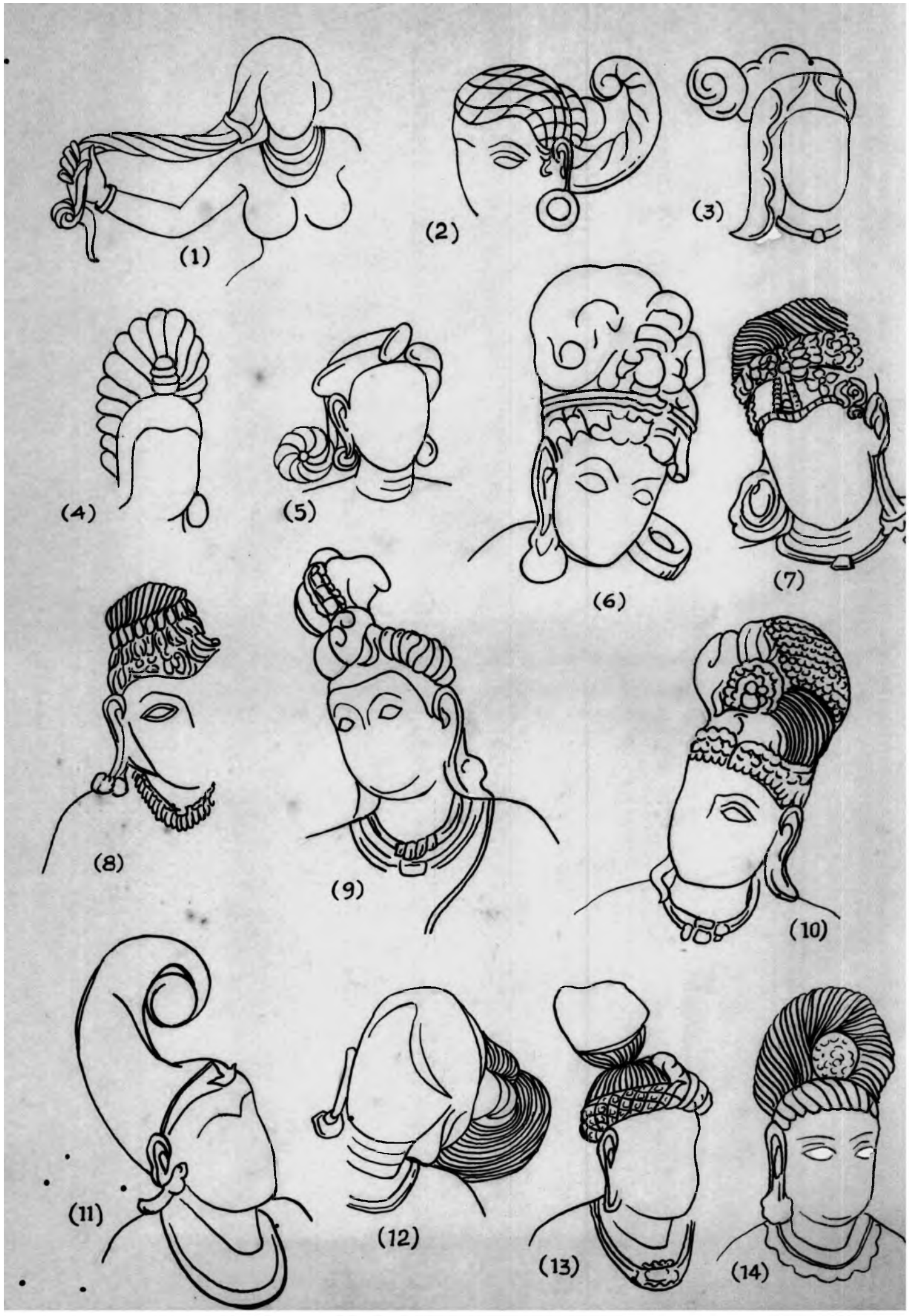
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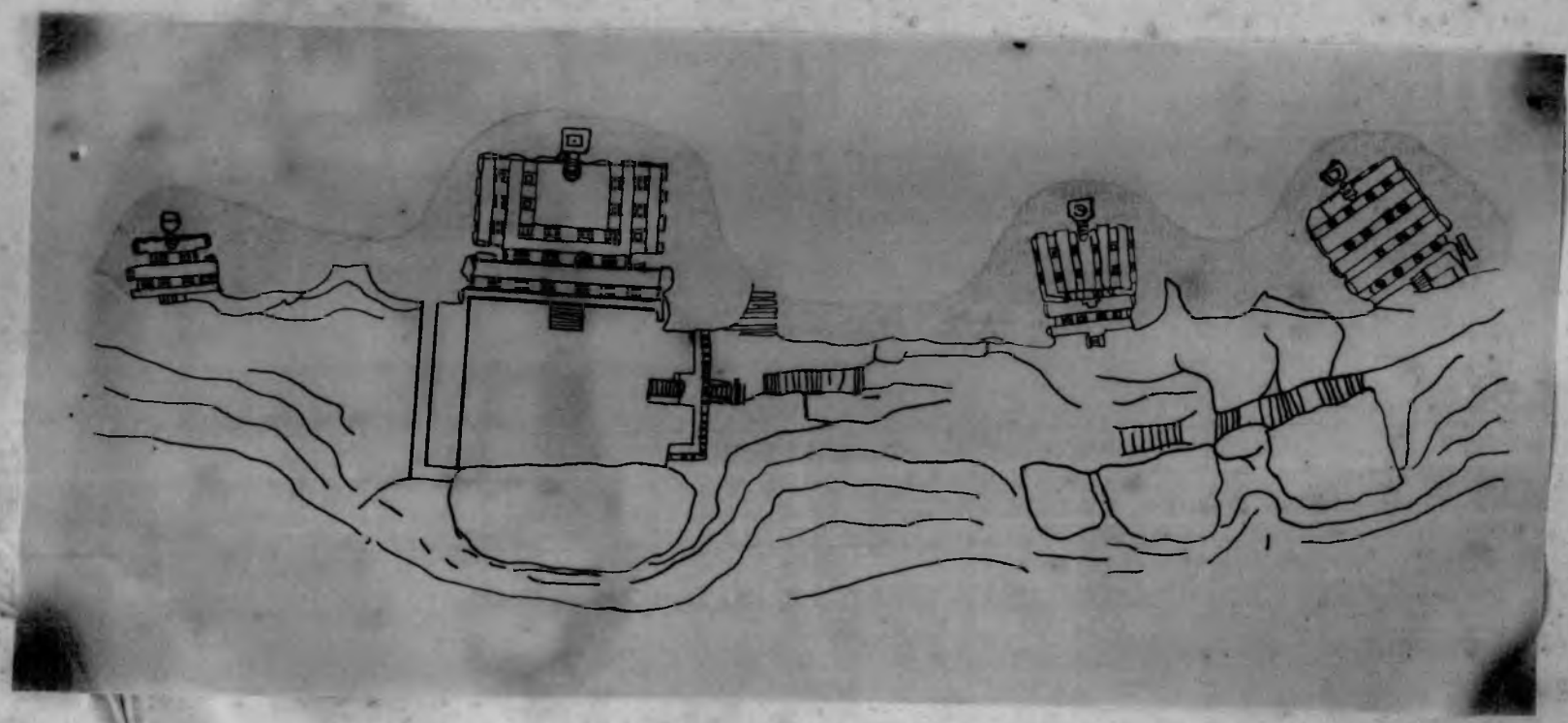
Plate VI



Bādāmi Caves: Plan

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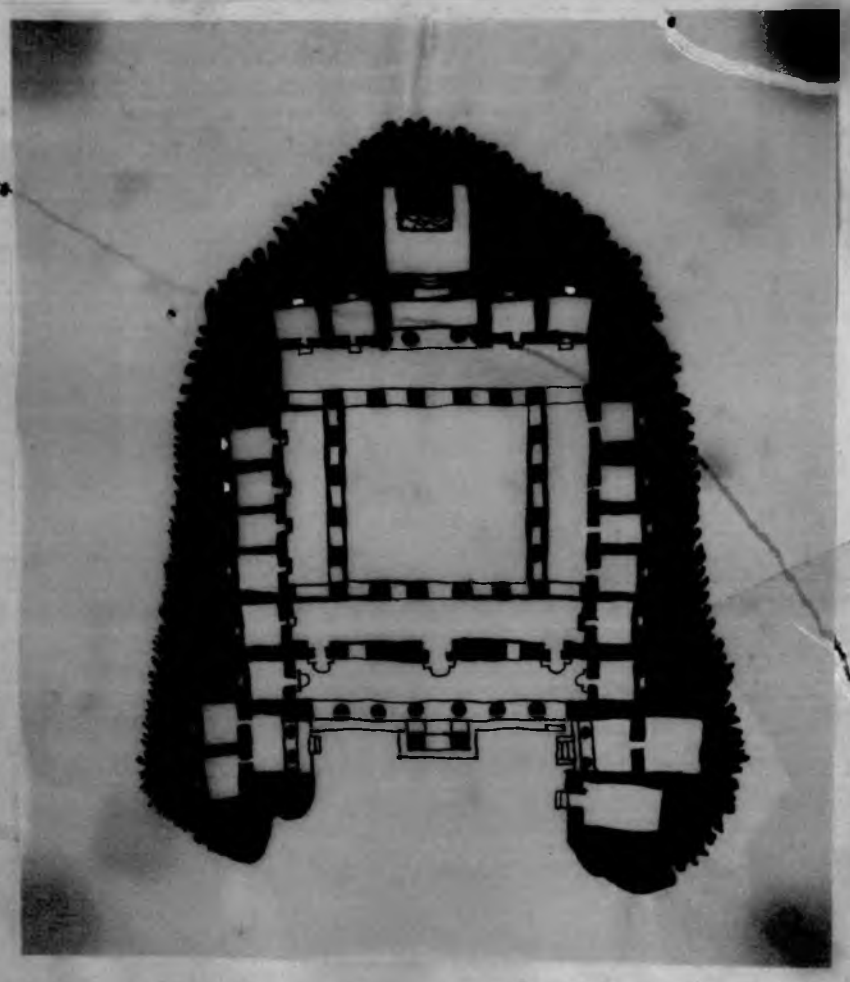
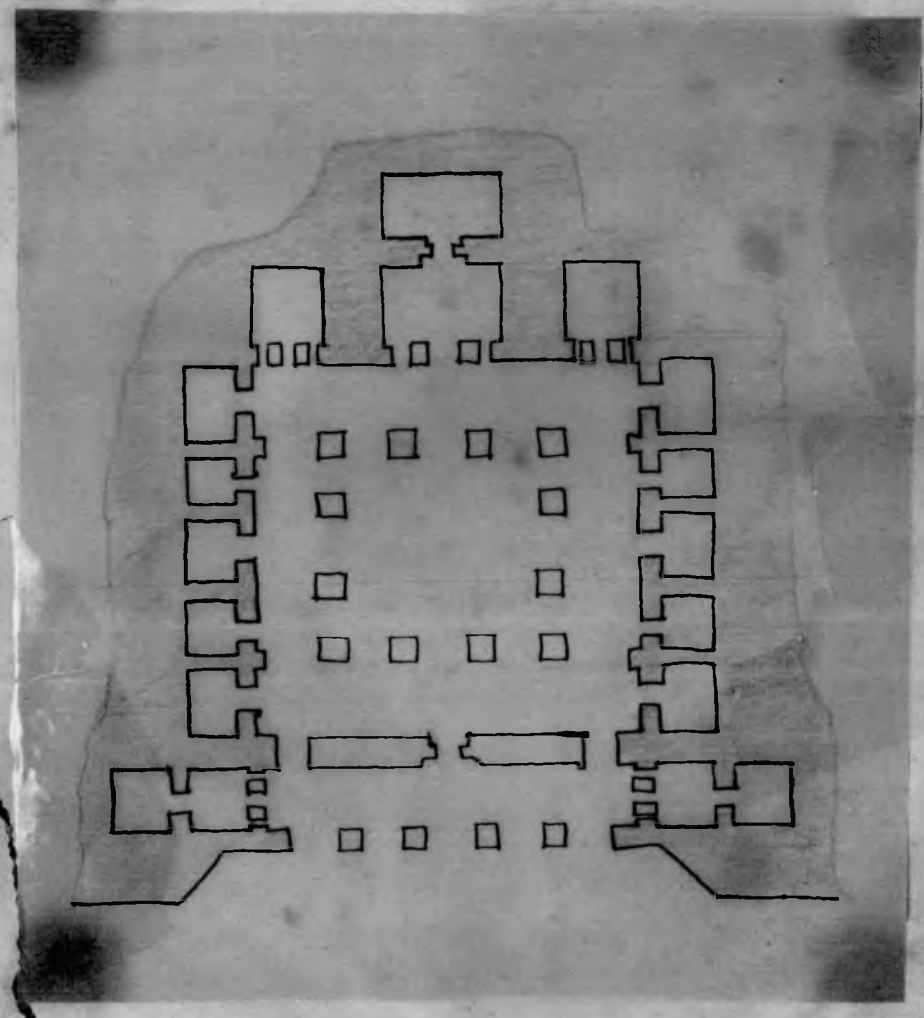
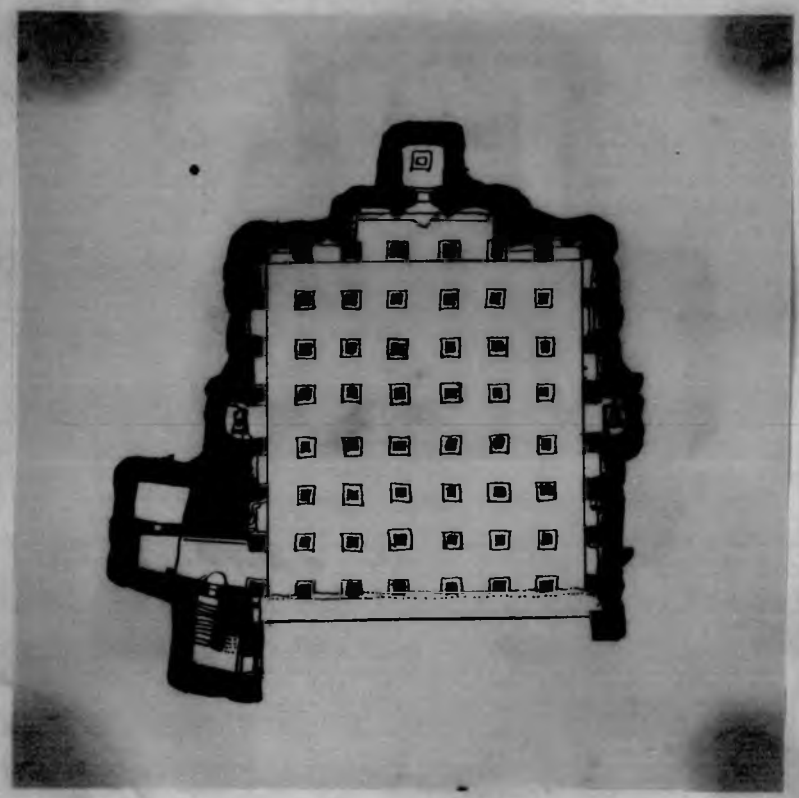


(A) Ajantā Cave I.
Plan

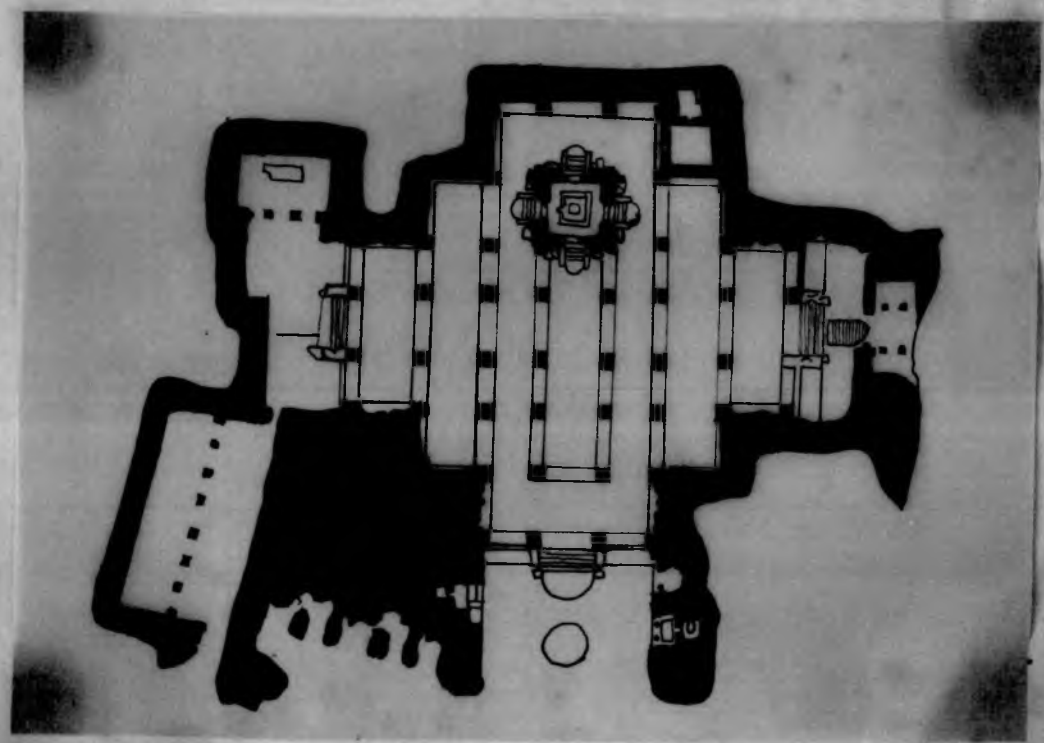


(B) Ajantā Cave II.
Plan

Plan VIII

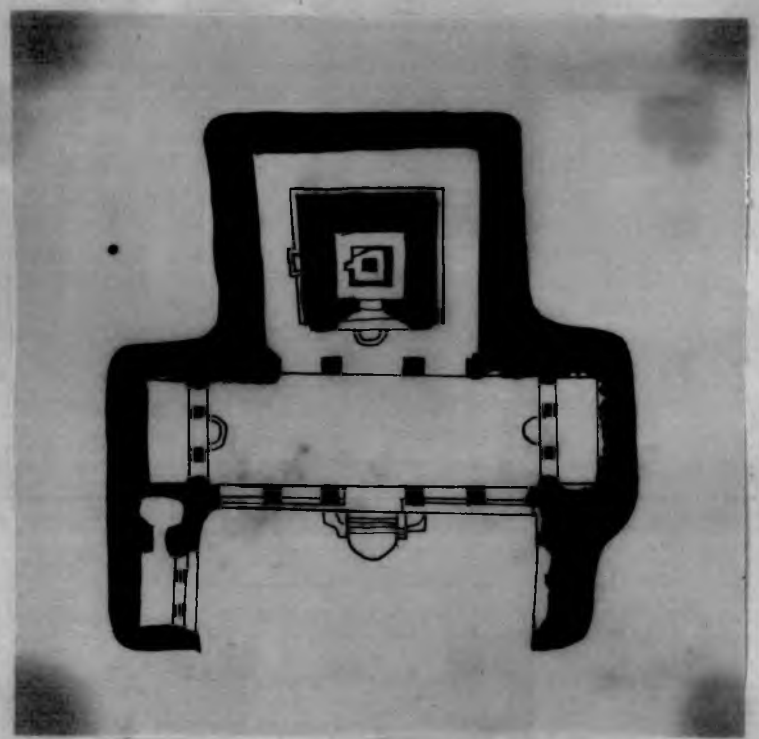


(A) Ellorā_Daśāvatāra Cave.
Plan of Upper Storey



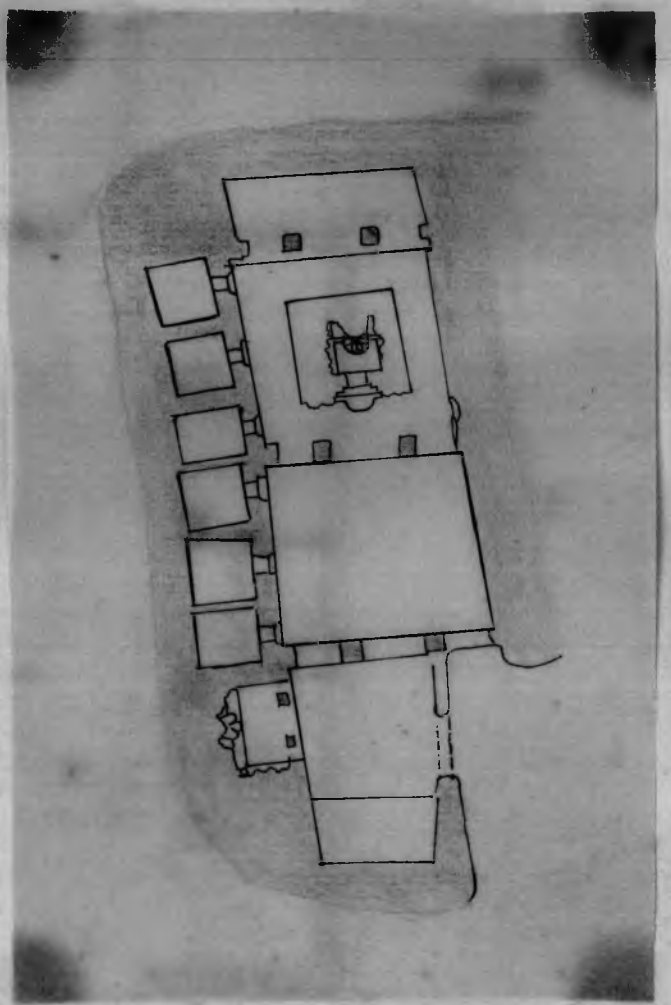
(B) Ellorā_Dhumar Lenā Cave.
Plan

Plate IX



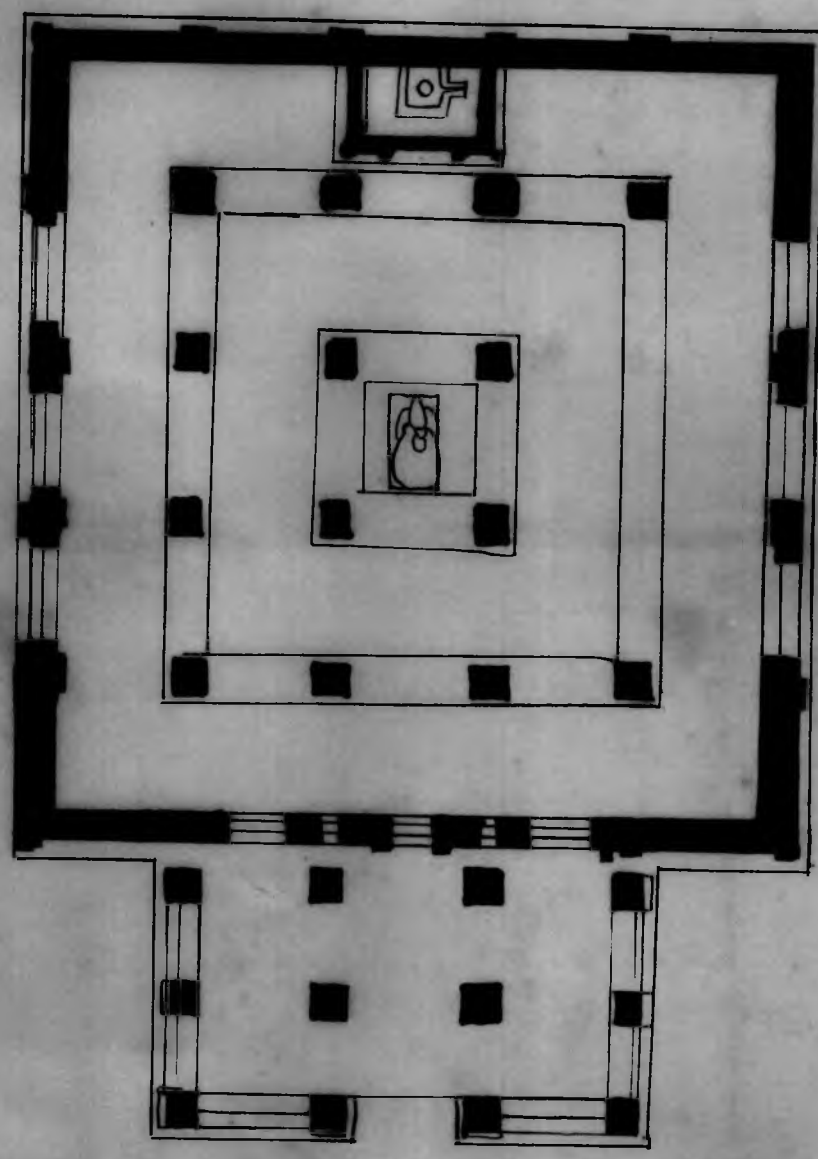
(A) Ellorā_Rāmeśvara Cave.

Plan



(B) Ellorā_Cave VIII: Plan

Plate X



Temple of Lāḍ Khān, Aihole

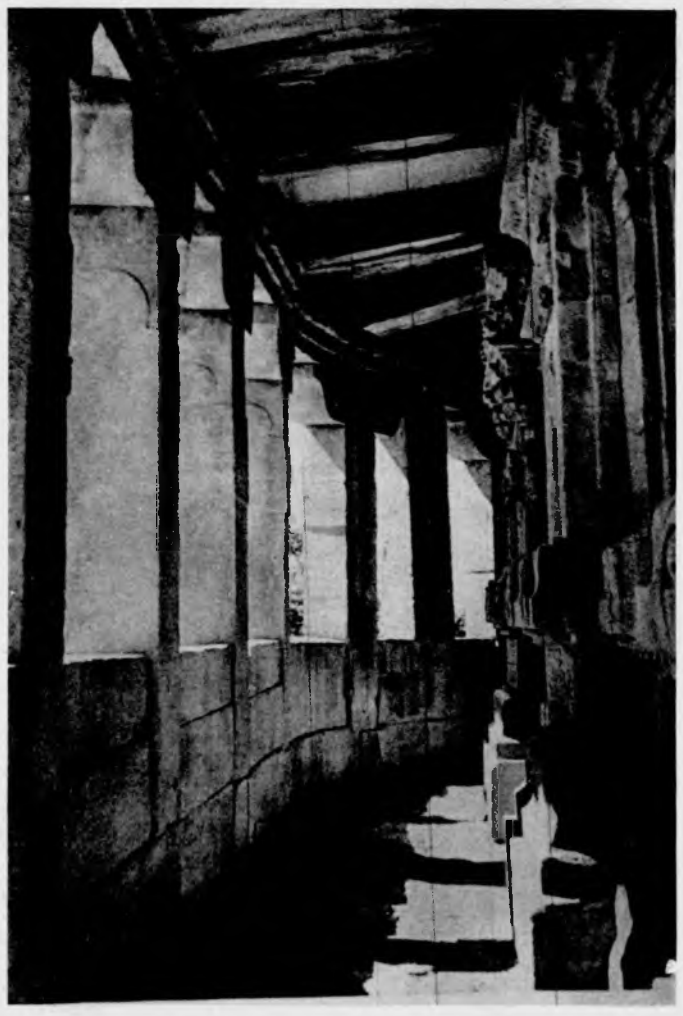
Plate XI

(A) Huchchmalligudi , Aihole.

(B) Verandah of the third cave at Bādāmi.

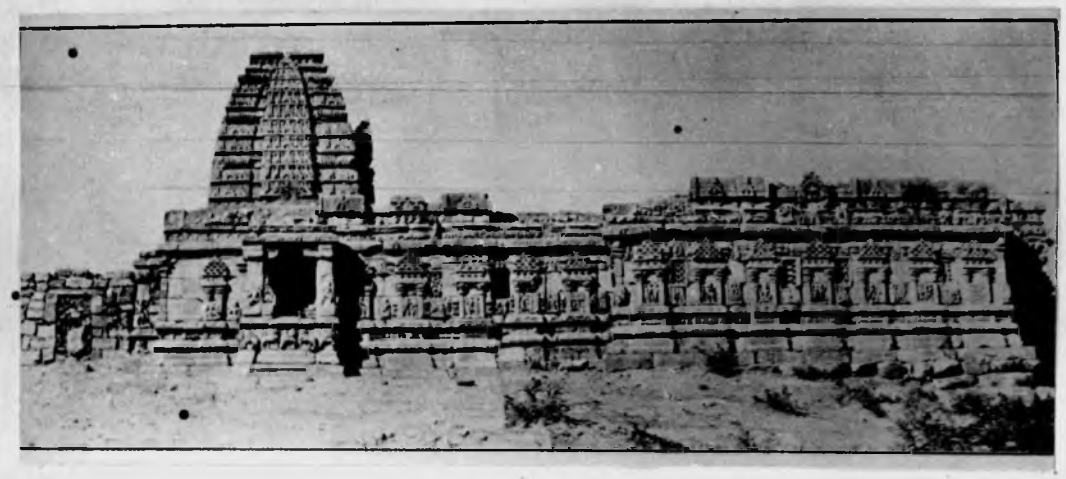
Plate XII

Aihole

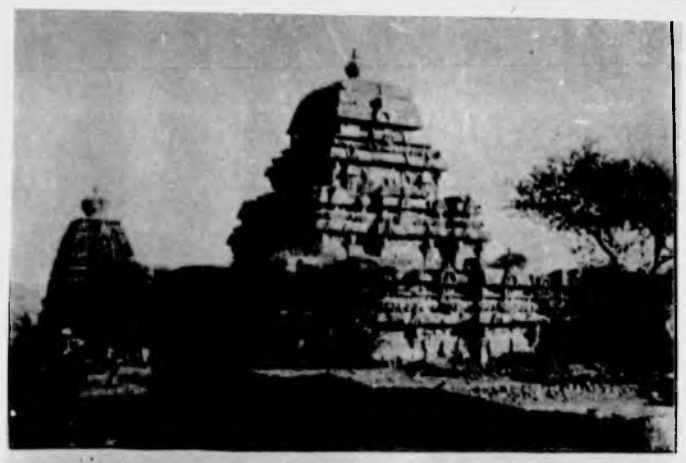


Peripteral exterior of the
Durgā temle.

Apsidal end of the
Durgā temple.



(A) Pāpanātha temple.

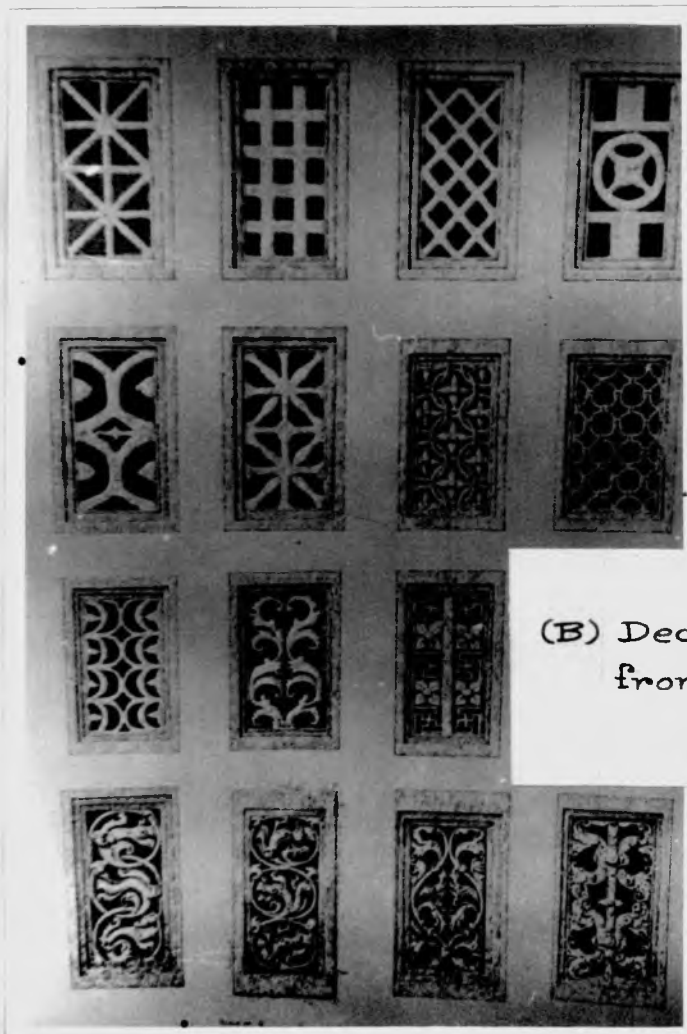


(B) Saṅgameśvara temple.

(C) Mallikārjuna temple.

Paṭṭadakal.

(A) Virūpāksha temple.



(B) Decorative windows
from the Virūpāksha temple.

Plate XIV

Paṭṭadakal

From the third cave at Bādāmi

(A) Vishṇu sitting on Ananta.

(B) Bracket figures.

(A) Vṛishavāhanamūrti of Śiva.

(B) Ardhanārīśvara.

From Aihoḷe

Plate XVII

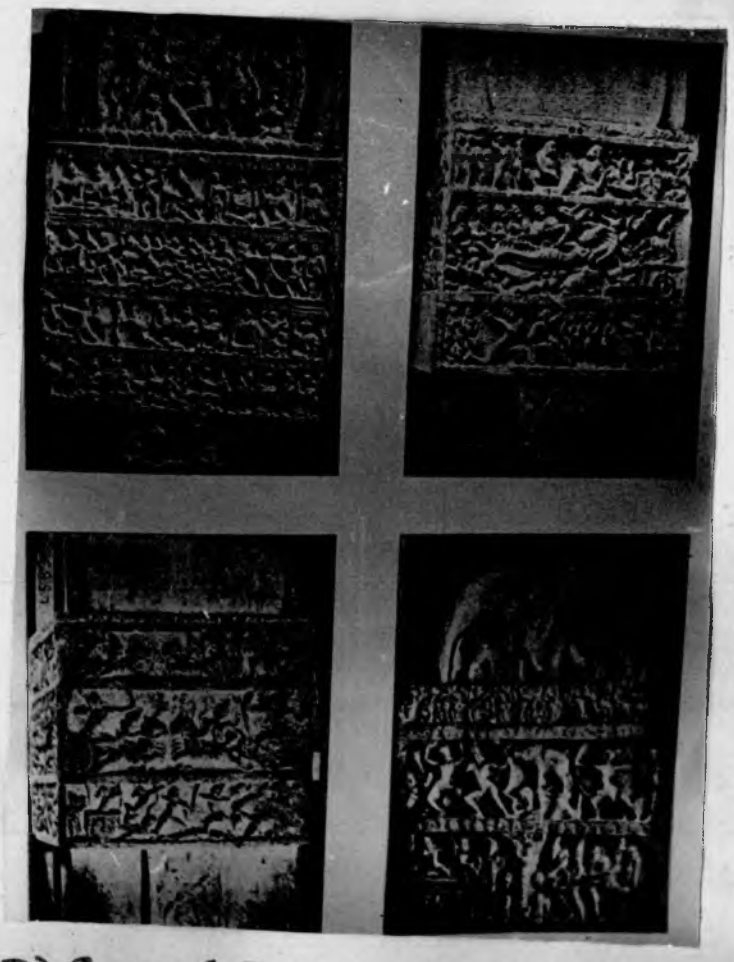
(A) Chāmaradhāriṇī.

(B) Amorous couple.

From the Pāpanātha temple at Paṭṭadakal.

Plate XVIII

(A) Amorous couple,
Mallikārjuna temple.



(B) Carved Pillars from the
Virūpāksha Temple.

Paṭṭadakal

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THE CHĀLUKYA KULA

(being a study of THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI)

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE Ph. D. DEGREE OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

By

MISS KUMUD CHITALIA

ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE BOMBAY-1. 1964

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It is clear from the critical study of the various sources in the foregoing pages that the Bādāmi house of the Chālukyas played a dominant part in the political and cultural history of the Dakshiṇāpatha from the middle of the sixth till the third quarter of the eighth century.

The almost simultaneous decline of the Vākāṭakas in the Central Deccan and the Kadambas in the south-western part of the Southern Peninsula facilitated the rise of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi as an imperial power.

During the period of their rule no northern power could expect to extend its boundaries in the Deccan. The imperialistic ambitions of the Mauryas, the Kalachuris, the Pushpabhūtis, the Maitrakas and the Arabs were definitely checked. While on the one hand these triumphs are an eloquent testimony to the superior military might of the Chālukya armed forces, the sterling qualities of whose veterans earned them a tribute from the

Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, on the other the defeat of these northern powers was of incalculable value for the preservation and the development of the culture of the Deccan. For by stemming the tide of their aggression the Chālukyas saved the country south of the Vindhyas from being overrun by the powerful northern influences and thereby enabled them to follow their own independent line of development. This, however, did not mean a complete lack of contact with northern India. The Chālukyas are known to have endowed a Buddhist monastery near Bodh-Gayā - a fact attested by the Chinese pilgrim Hwuin-Lin in the seventh century - and a priest from the north, resident of the Mṛigathanikāhāra-vishaya situated on the northern bank of the Ganges, is known to have been attached to the Saṅgameśvara temple, erected under the patronage of Chālukya Vijayāditya.

The aggressive policy followed by the rulers of this house brought them into a prolonged conflict with the Pallavas of Kāñchī, who were their chief political rivals in South India.

In the midst of all these military engagements, however, the Chālukyas found time to

patronize art, literature and institutions belonging to various religious faiths. The movement of bhakti worship which had started under the earlier Kadamba regime received a fresh impetus under the Chālukyas.

The Chālukyan architects devoted special attention to ' the House of God,' देवगृहं as the temple is described in the inscriptions of this period, and its well-known features were evolved during the Chālukyan age. A comparative study of their monuments at Bādāmi, Aihoḷe, Paṭṭadakal, Mahākūṭeśvara, Ālampur and Satyavoḷū with those of the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Pallavas of Kāñchī and Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālakheda brings to light a fascinating process of experimentation in the growth and development of the art of temple-building tried during this period. The statuary in these temples marks the emergence of Chālukya idiom, which was the result of the synthesis effected between the eastern and western schools of Sātavāhana sculpture. The art of mural painting reached its highest watermark in the frescoes decorating the third cave at Bādāmi.

True, Sanskrit remained the language

of the Court but two vernaculars, Kannada and Telugu, were given due encouragement under the Chālukya patronage. Thus the era of Chālukya hegemony marks a definite landmark in the growth of culture and civilization of the Dakshiṇāpatha.